

The Spiritual QUIXOTE;

Or, the Entertaining

HISTORY

OF

Don *IGNATIUS LOYOLA*,

Founder of the ORDER of the

JESUITS.

Of whom it may, with the stricted Truth be
said, that he was one of the most extraordi-
nary Men that ever the World produced.

Containing also

An ACCOUNT of the Establishment, Government,
and surprizing Progress of that powerful Order.

Translated from the FRENCH of

Monf. *RASIEL DE SELVA*.

In Two VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. BOUQUET in *Pater-Noster-Row*;

MDCCLV.

The Spanish Quixote;

Of the Harlequin

HISTORY

OF THE VILLAGE OF DORSET.



Of which it may be said, with great truth, that
it is one of the most extensive
any that ever the world produced.

Containing also

An account of the Harlequin, and
the manner in which it was
discovered.

Translated from the French of

Monsieur RASSET DE BELLA

1st Viscount of

St. Pierre

London

Printed for J. B. in the Strand

M. DCC.

THE
HISTORY

Of the Renown'd
Don IGNATIUS DE GUIPUSCOA.

WHILE *Ignatius* was busy in writing his constitutions at *Rome*, his society established themselves every where with amazing success.

JOHN III. king of *Portugal*, was the first prince who gave them foundations. This monarch, who had gained great victories in the *Indies*, always kept jesuits about him, that they might be in readiness, as there should be occasion for them, to be sent to that vast country, in order to reduce the *Indians*, his new subjects, to the obedience of the catholic faith, and by that means, render them more subject to the *Portuguese* yoke.

VOL. II.

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2 THE HISTORY OF

WITH this view, in which at least there was as much policy as religion, he founded, in the year 1541, at the university of *Conimbria*, the first college the society had.

As soon as *Ignatius* was informed of it, he sent a detachment of his disciples into *Portugal*, consisting as well of those whom he had with him at *Rome*, as others who were studying at *Paris*. They set out on foot from *Italy* and *France* at the same time, and begged their way till they came to *Lisbon*, where the king kept them with him, till the college, which he was building for them at *Conimbria*, was finished.

THE following year he gave them another college, which he had founded at *Goa*, the capital of the *Portuguese Indies*. At first they catechised there the children of the converts: Afterwards they turned it into a seminary for the reception of those of their order, who should be sent from *Portugal* and other places of *Europe* to the *Indies* by the general. These two Colleges, which, in their infancy, were but inconsiderable, grew so rich, through the address of their governors, in drawing, under religious pretexts, liberalities from *John III.* and the unfortunate *Sebastian*, his grandson, and successor, that in the year 1572, the college of *Conimbria* maintained two hundred

hundred persons, and that of *Goe* an hundred and twenty.

CARDINAL *Henry*, out of a religious principle, did what *John III.* his brother, had done out of policy. This devout prelate built for the jesuits, in the city of *Evo-ra*, of which he was archbishop, a magnificent college, and endowed it with revenues for the support of above a hundred and twenty persons : This college has since been erected into an university.

AT the same time, there was built for them at *Lisbon* a house for the professed, and at *Conimbria* one for *Novices*.

THEY did not with the same ease establish themselves in *Italy*. *Laines*, having been sent to *Venice* in the year 1542, and having found means to insinuate himself into high esteem with *Andrew Lippomani*, a noble *Venetian*, and prior of trinity house, influenced him so far in favour of the jesuits, that this nobleman thought it was doing a singular service to his country, to found for them a college at *Padua* for the education of youth. For this purpose he resigned to them a considerable priory which he had in this city ; and, till the pope should confirm the resignation, *Ignatius* sent some of his jesuits to *Padua*, where *John Polancus*, and *Andrew Frusis* studied, and laid the first foundation of this college.

4 THE HISTORY OF

IN 1546, they obtained of *Paul III.* the priory which had been resigned to them; but two years after, having presented a petition to the senate of *Venice*, to obtain the possession of this rich benefice, conformably to the pope's bull, a senator, who was a near relation of *Lippomani*, strongly opposed it; and, as he was a man of power and in high reputation, gave a great deal of trouble to *Laines* and *Salmeron*, who had the management of this affair. In vain they harangued the senate, displayed the all-conquering force of an insinuating eloquence, and raised even to heaven the merit and usefulness of their society: The senate were deaf to all their remonstrances, and joined by the university of *Padua*, formed such strong oppositions, that *Laines*, notwithstanding all his address, despaired of defeating them by natural means. In effect, he wrote to *Ignatius*, that there were no hopes of ever gaining their point, unless his paternity should offer up the most august sacrifice of the Mass, to obtain from heaven a success which it was in vain to expect from earth. *Ignatius* offered up this divine sacrifice on the eighth of *September*, a fortunate day for him, for it is that on which the church celebrates the feast of the nativity of the glorious virgin *Mary*, whose knight he was; and being fully confident of the
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all-powerful assistance of his lady, he wrote back to *Laines* in the following words: *I know what you wished for; have a good heart, and assure yourself every thing will succeed to our desire.* Accordingly it fell out; for if we may believe *Ribadeneyra* eight days after the celebration of this Mass, the affair was concluded in the senate in favour of the jesuits without any of their friends interfering.

As soon as they found themselves established at *Padua*, they affected to read their lectures with the doors open, at the same hours that the university of the senate gave theirs. They proclaimed them, as she did, by the ringing of a bell and sticking up printed bills; and made public orations to exhort the youth to come to their college, which they called, *the college of Padua of the Society of Jesus*. The university complained of their proceedings to the senate of *Venice*, and obtained, on the 23d of *December 1591*, a decree, forbidding the jesuits to read public lectures, and to infringe, in any manner whatsoever, the statutes and privileges of the university of the senate.

ANDREW Lippomani, not contented with having established them at *Padua*, gave them likewise, in the year 1549, a house and a church in the city of *Venice*. They were very well settled there, when in the year 1606, they were expelled from thence

6 THE HISTORY OF

and all parts of the republick, on account of a falling out between her and *Paul V.*

THIS pope, who suffered himself to be call'd, *the most invincible monarch of the christian republic, the most zealous defender of the all-powerful popedom*, Vice God; and who said, that *God had made him pope to humble the presumption of secular powers*, form'd a design to subject all sovereigns to his all-powerful papacy. His first essay was upon the republic of *Lucca*, which at once submitted herself to his will. Afterwards he attacked the little republic of *Genoa*, where he met with some resistance; but the thunder of the vatican no sooner began to roar, than she submitted as *Lucca* had done. Encouraged by this happy beginning, *Paul* thought he should be able to bring under his yoke the *Venetians* with the same ease. He threatened them with his thunder-bolts, if they refused to give up to his nuncio a canon and an abbot, whom they had imprisoned for some crime, and if they did not revoke two decrees; the one of the tenth of *January* 1603, which forbid the building of churches without the permission of the senate; the other of the twenty-sixth of *March* 1605, for hindering the alienation of secular estates to ecclesiastics.

BUT the republick of *Venice*, being certain that she had done nothing in these respects

pects but what was founded upon the right which every sovereign has in his own dominions to chastise malefactors, and to enact laws for the good of his subjects; would neither give up the prisoners, nor revoke her decrees. On the contrary, she declared, that she was resolved to do nothing which might be in the least detrimental to her sovereignty in temporal affairs, and that she knew how to support it against all the efforts of those who should endeavour to crush it.

THIS resolution put the holy Father into such a violent passion, that he thundered out a brief, on the seventeenth of *April 1606*; menacing the doge and senate with excommunication, unless, within the term of twenty-four days, they recalled the two forementioned decrees, and released the canon and abbot into the hands of his nuncio.

As soon as the senate heard of this brief, they declared it *null, and published unjustly and in vain*. Then they forbid all prelates, vicar-generals, and other ecclesiasticks, to suffer to be published, or stuck up, in any place whatever, this brief, or any other, sent from *Rome*; and ordered them to continue as usual, the celebration of *divine service*.

THE grand-vicar of the bishop of *Padua*, was the only one who seemed to make any
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8 THE HISTORY OF

difficulty of submitting to this order. *I will*, said he to the messenger that brought it to him, *do what shall be inspired in me*. But the messenger having answered him, that the council of ten were already inspired to hang all who were disobedient, the vicar did not stay for any other inspiration to determine him.

THE jesuits, who had sent one of their society to *Rome*, called *Achilles Gaillardi*, to know his holiness's pleasure, whether he did not think it proper, for the good of his service, that they should remain at *Venice*, promised, when they were told of the senate's order, that they would perform the *divine Office*. But the pope, lest they should hurt his pretensions more, by not observing the interdict, than they could do him service by their little intrigues, commanded them to retire; but to prolong the time of their departure as long as they possibly could. Upon this they spread a report, that they were resolved to stay, and they continued the *divine service* as usual, only forbearing to say Mass in public.

THE time which was fixed by the senate for giving their answer being expired, they were asked, what was their final resolution? Then they refused to say Mass entirely, and which is very particular, they pretended that this refusal was not contrary to the promise which they had made to say the *divine*

vine office ; because, said they, the Mass, by reason of its excellence, is not included in the general term of *divine office*.

THE senate enraged at their treachery, ordered them immediately to quit the territories of the republick. They departed on the tenth of *May*, at two o'clock in the morning, having each a consecrated host hanging to his neck, to make their followers believe that *Jesus Christ*, as well as they, had abandoned the *Venetians*.

THEY retired into the neighbouring states, where they sent into the republick of *Venice* innumerable libels, containing the blackest calumnies against its religion, conduct and government, and formed a thousand intrigues and cabals to excite the subjects to sedition.

THE senate being apprised of it, and the whole attested upon unquestionable authority, banished them for ever by an irrevocable decree, dated the twelfth of *June* 1660. In the month of *August* following, by another decree, they forbid all the subjects of the republick, of what quality or condition soever, under the penalty of being banish'd the state without any hopes of pardon, to have any correspondence with the jesuits; and the same decree ordered, upon a like penalty, that all those who had any children, nephews, relations, or other young men of their dependence,

10 THE HISTORY OF

dance, in the colleges of the society, to recall them forthwith, and send no more thither for the future.

ON the eleventh of *May*, which was the last day of the term which the pope had fixt for the *Venetians* to surrender themselves, the senate ordered all those who should scruple to continue the *divine office*, to retire. The capuchins, who had been seduced by the jesuits, chose the latter part, and were followed by the *Theatins*, and those of the order of St. *Francis*.

AFTER their departure, no ecclesiastic, whether secular or regular, was to be found in all the state of *Venice*, that paid the least regard to the censures of *Rome*. Divine service was celebrated and the sacraments administered there as before.

THE proceedings of the pope were blamed to all the catholic courts. They looked upon the cause of the *Venetians* to be the common cause of all the secular Powers; and the most invincible monarch of the christian republic saw himself reduced, by a general contempt of his thunderbolts, to endeavour peace.

HENRY IV. offered his mediation, and it was accepted by both the parties concerned; in fine, the affair was made up the twenty-first of *April* 1607, after many difficulties; one of the principal of which was the return of the jesuits, which the pope regarded

as a condition which he could not in honour dispense with.

THE *Venetians* did not revoke the Laws which had brought excommunication upon them, nor recal the jesuits: They neither would receive absolution, nor benediction, nor do themselves, or suffer to be done, the least thing that might give room to think they had committed a fault. The censures were taken off without any ceremony; and there were neither private nor public rejoicings upon this occasion. There was not so much as a treaty of accommodation. * They only gave the pope the small satisfaction of delivering up the two prisoners to the *French* ambassador, and even this was not done without a Protestation, that the senate had still the authority of judging ecclesiastics. They likewise allowed him to recal such of the capuchins, and Theatins, who had committed no other fault than that of having, at the instigation of the jesuits, obeyed the bull.

GREGORY XV. who succeeded *Paul V.* made at the beginning of his pontificate, very strong instances in favour of the socie-

* That which is printed, and contains several articles, is absolutely false. Cardinal *Cajetan* is supposed to be the author of it. *Mem. de l'Erolle.*

ty; but, tho' *Lewis XIII.* vigorously backed him, this pope was able to do nothing.

NEVERTHELESS the jesuits did not lose courage. They comforted themselves with the hopes that time would bring about some favourable conjuncture for their establishment. They expected it a long time, when in fine, it happened in the year 1657. The *Venetians*, attacked on all sides by the *Turk*, and obliged to implore the assistance of the catholick princes, addressed themselves to the pope and the king of *France*, *Alexander VII.* and *Lewis XIV.* zealous protectors of the society, who strongly interceded for it; and their intercession was of so much the more efficacy, as they promised the republick considerable succours for *Candia*.

THUS the jesuits owed their re-establishment to the necessity in which the Republic found itself at that time to oblige the pope and the king of *France*, of whose assistance she stood in great need. Nevertheless she did not consent to the recalling of them, but by subjecting them to very unpleasant conditions, which made it impossible for them to breed disturbances or do the least harm.

SUCH was the manner in which the jesuits established themselves at *Venice*. Now let us see by what means they did so in the other cities of *Italy*.

IN 1549, *Ignatius* found a fair opportunity to make an establishment at *Tivoli*, and accordingly took care not to let it slip. Faithful to the law which he had imposed upon the general of his order, to remain always at *Rome*, he never left it from the time of his election to the generalship: But now he thought himself in such circumstances as dispensed with his observance of this law. The inhabitants of *St. Angelo*, and those of *Tivoli*, their neighbours, had fallen out to such a degree as to wage open war upon one another. It was necessary to reconcile them, and the pope gave this commission to *Ignatius*. He went to both cities, and having prevailed with them to chuse the cardinal de *Cueva* arbitrator of their differences, he engaged them in the meantime to lay down their arms.

SIGNIOR *Lewis Mendoza*, who entertained *Ignatius* at *Tivoli*, offered him, besides a convenient house and agreeable gardens, a chapel dedicated to the Virgin, which was built without the city, near the magnificent ruins of the country house of *Mecenas*. *Ignatius* accepted all these things for the glory of God; and after having taken possession of the chapel, returned to *Rome*, and never stirred out of it but once, to go to *Naples* to reconcile the duke

14 THE HISTORY OF

duke d'*Asce-Colonne* and *Joan d'Arragon* his lady, who were at variance.

MODENA in *Lombardy*, and *Peruse* in *Tuscany*, founded colleges for the jesuits: That of *Peruse* had the advantage of having for its rector *Everard Mercurian*, who was afterwards the fourth general of the society.

PAUL DORIA, a noble Genoese, who was very rich, and into whose favour *Laines* had insinuated himself, founded a college for them at *Genoa*: And cardinal *Carpi*, the patron of *Santa Casa*, did the same at *Loretto*.

SOME time after, the republic of *Genoa*, at the persuation of *Laines*, besought the pope to send some jesuits into the island of *Corfica*, which, tho' it had, many ages before, received christianity, still retained something of the savageness of barbarians. *Julus III.* mentioned the affair to *Ignatius*, who chose for this mission *Silvester Landin* and *Emanuel de Monte-Major*, whom his holiness sent there with the title of apostolical visitors, and vested with a very extensive power.

THEY had no need to exercise their authority upon the people of this island; for they were so ignorant, that they easily made them believe and do whatever they had a mind. But it was quite different with regard to the ecclesiastics. The priests
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and monks could not bear the haughtiness with which these two strangers treated them. The grand-vicar complained of them to *Rome*, and sent a deputy there to support his allegations.

THIS deputy persuaded several cardinals, that *Laudin* and *Monte-Major* behaved tyrannically, and abused the power with which the holy see had invested them; so that the cardinal *de Sante-Croix* exclaimed bitterly against them to *Ignatius*, and ordered him to reform their abuses. Accordingly, *Ignatius* sent secretly into *Corfica*, under the disguise of a gentleman, a jesuit in whom he put great confidence, and who was called *Sebastian Romé*. This cunning jesuit acquitted himself of his commission with so much address, that he returned to *Rome* with letters from the governor of the island, from the magistrates, from the people, and from the provincial of the order of *St. Francis*, which were so much in favour of the accused, that the cardinals made an apology to *Ignatius* for having believed, without examining into the affair, the deputy of the grand-vicar of *Corfica*.

THE jesuits met with better reception in *Sicily*. For the viceroy, *Don John de Vega*, having advantageously made use of them in this kingdom, to prevail upon the people to pay great taxes, without murmuring,

16 THE HISTORY OF

muring, and from a principle of conscience, engaged the *Messinians*, who are naturally devout, to found at *Messina* a college for the society. This college was built by the advice of the viceroy, near St. *Nicholas*, to the end that being under the care of the jesuits, they might the more easily obtain it, as it accordingly happened soon after. But this was not all : The *Messinians* likewise founded for them a house for the reception of novices, which was the first that the order ever had ; for that of *Conimbra*, which was mentioned before, was founded afterwards.

PALERMA, the capital of the kingdom of *Sicily*, and rival of *Messina*, out of emulation, built such a fine college for the society, that in recompence *Ignatius* sent twelve of the ablest jesuits of his order to take possession of it. From these two colleges, which were opulently endowed from their first foundation, and which the liberalities of *Philip II.* king of *Spain* extremely enriched, have sprung, and have been peopled, those of *Syracuse*, *Montreal*, and all the rest which the jesuits have in *Sicily*.

NAPLES, *Turin*, *Mantua*, *Florence*, *Ferrara*, *Boulogna*, *Parma*, *Avignon*, *Siena*, and in fine *Rome*, followed the same example.

THE obstacles which the jesuits met with in *Italy*, were nothing in comparison of those which

which they had to surmount to establish themselves in *Spain*. But, like palm-trees, the more they were bent, the more they flourished.

FRANCIS de Villeneuve, an ignorant man, and of mean extraction, who was one of those whom *Ignatius* had sent from *Rome* to *Portugal*, to establish there the college of *Conimbra*, was the principal instrument of founding the college of *Alcala de Henares*; which happened as follows. Tired with the fatigue of so long a journey made on foot, and by begging, he fell sick a few days after his arrival at *Lisbon*. His superiors, by the advice of his physicians, sent him to *Alcala*, the place of his birth, where, as soon as he began to breath his native air, he was cured. He remained there, by the order of *Ignatius*, to study; and, according to his example, he applied himself in an advanced age, to learn the rudiments with the little boys. His extreme mortifications, and his visions, hindered him from making any great progress in the grammar during the two years that he studied it. But in recompence, he became so learned in spirituality, that the most famous doctors of *Alcala* put themselves under his direction.

IGNATIUS charmed to see him such a great master in a spiritual life, began to think

think of reaping the advantage of it. With this view, he sent him three expert companions, who persuaded several young men of the best families of the city, to embrace *Jesuitism*. Upon this a great outcry was raised against these four jesuits. They were accused of having inspired these young men with an indiscrete zeal, and of having seduced them. But the biggots, whom they gained over to their interest, had influence enough, to clear them from this accusation. In fine, they were so infatuated that they founded a college for them, which is one of the most convenient of the order.

THE college of *Valence* owes its foundation to *Jerom Domenec*, who, making himself a jesuit, gave all that he had to the society for this purpose : But, as his estate was not sufficient for it, *Ignatius* prevailed with pope *Paul III.* to make up the deficiency.

LE FEVRE, and *Antony Araos*, having accompanied to *Valladolid*, *Mary of Portugal*, the daughter of king *John III.* when in 1543, she was going to be married to *Philip of Austria*, son of the emperor *Charles V.* did not let so fair an opportunity slip of recovering for the society an establishment in that city. The princess, whose conscience they directed, took a pleasure to serve them with her interest, and obtained for them

a college, to which soon after a religious house was added.

THE society established themselves with the same facility at *Gandia, Malaga, Placentia, Compostello, Oviedo, Leon, Granada, Medina del Campo, Cordua, Seville, Burgos, Avila, Caençá, Simancas, Barcelona, Murcia, Monte-Regio, Origuella, Montiel, and Ognata*. Colleges were founded for them in all these cities, and in some of them houses for novices.

THESE colleges and houses were for the most part, in their first establishment, inconsiderable; but the jesuits had no sooner set foot in a place, than like new *Archimedes*, they put the whole earth in motion.

THEIR custom was first to hire a house, and pay the rent of it with the charities which they begged from door to door. This house soon became too little to hold the crowd of scholars which the bait of being taught gratis drew to it. Assisted by the interest of their scholars relations, they easily obtained a larger house, where being still pressed for room, they engaged the city, in consideration of the publick emolument, to found a college for them. This college grew by degrees bigger and bigger by joining to it the adjacent houses, which they found means to appropriate by pious frauds,

frauds, at the same time that its revenues were augmented by the donations and legacies, which, at their instigation, the bigots, whose consciences they governed, bestowed upon them.

In effect, at first, they had only a small hired house at *Rome*. Afterwards they gathered charities enough to take a greater. Then they had given them *Notre-Dame de la Strata*, which served as a parish. They were not long there, before they complained of want of room. They enlarged it, and after this enlargement, added to it likewise *St. Andrew*, the neighbouring church, which they took away from the right owners, under pretence that they made an ill use of it. In fine, cardinal *Alexander Farnese*, grandson to pope *Paul III.* thinking to sanctify the unjust riches which he had accumulated during the long pontificate of his grandfather, and to purchase by them friends to secure him a place in heaven, built that sumptuous edifice *Grand Jesus*, which they have at *Rome*, and where their monarch has established the throne of his empire.

BUT let us return to the establishment of the society in *Spain*. *Araos*, whom *Ignatius* had made provincial of this kingdom, laid the first foundation of the college of *Salamanca*. Cardinal *Franciscus Mendoza*, who
was

was the founder of it, built it according to a magnificent plan, which a jesuit had drawn, called *Michael de Torrez*, who came on purpose to *Rome* to give directions for this edifice, and who was afterwards rector of this college.

WHILE they were building it, the jesuits, tho' they lived in an ordinary hired house, did not fail, in a very short time, to bring under their direction almost the whole city. As casuists are for mitigating things they were suspected of having softened the precepts of the gospel, in order to draw the greater crouds of sinners. The monks of *Salamanca*, having at their head a holy man, who had voluntarily laid down a bishopric, to follow preaching, at which he had an excellent talent, loudly exclaimed from the pulpits against these new directors of conscience, whom he accused of remissness; and rendered their doctrine so much suspected, that every body abandoned them.

DESTITUTE of the protection of the cardinal *de Mendoza*, whom death had deprived them of, and too weak to resist such powerful adversaries, they chose to dissemble for a while; when pretending to be ignorant of what was alledged against them, they continued their usual occupations, but with so devout, humble, and mortified an outside, that they soon re-

gained, by these pious appearances, the confidence of all the inhabitants; and even engaged a great number of scholars of the university to embrace their order.

THEY had with Don John Martinez Siliceo, bishop of Toledo, a very delicate affair. Having taken the liberty without his permission, to administer the sacraments in his diocese, under the umbrage of exclusive privileges, which the holy see had granted them, this bishop, who was a zealous defender of the sacred and unalienable rights of the episcopacy, interdicted the jesuits, and pronounced a sentence of excommunication against all persons that should confess to them. Then he forbid the religious and curates of his diocese to suffer any priest of the society to preach, or say mass in their churches.

IGNATIUS, having been informed of all this, far from being afflicted, rejoiced at it. *This now tempest*, said he to Ribadeneyra, with a serene and pleasant countenance, *is a good omen to us: It is an evident sign, that God will make use of our ministry in Toledo. For, in fine, experience teaches us, that oppositions prepare every where the way for the establishment of the society; and the more it is traversed in a place, the more progress it makes therein. Nevertheless, he did not fail to write to Spain,*

Spain, and to order the jesuits neither to spare entreaties nor submissions, to appease the archbishop. *Villeneuve*, who, notwithstanding his ignorance, was rector of the college of *Alcala*, which was the only one that the society had in the diocese of *Toledo*, submitted to the meanest things in order to reconcile this bishop; but, not being able to succeed by this means, they used others to content him, or at least mollify his anger. The society had powerful friends and they made use of their mediation. In fine, they left no stone unturned, but still to no effect.

IGNATIUS, seeing that all his endeavours were to no purpose, had recourse to the protection of *Julius III.* and ordered the jesuits of *Alcala* to lay their complaints before the royal council of *Spain*. His holiness wrote to the archbishop, that he was informed with no less surprise than grief, that he was the only one who used the society of *Jesus* ill, which had been so solemnly approved by the popes, so much esteemed, and so well received in catholic countries.

ON the other hand, the royal council having examined the bulls and privileges of the jesuits, and finding the proceedings of the archbishop contrary to the authority of the holy see, made a decree in their favour. This decree, joined to his holiness's letter, obliged

24 THE HISTORY OF

obliged the archbishop to revoke the ordinances which he had made against them, and to let them enjoy their exemptions.

THIS great prelate died soon after, and his eyes were no sooner closed, then the jesuits were called to *Toledo*, where the first house given them was a fine building which this bishop had lately erected for his own clergy: *An accident worthy of admiration*, says *Ribadeneyra* upon this occasion, *A primate of Spain uses his utmost efforts to banish us out of his jurisdiction; and without thinking on it, he builds for us a magnificent palace in the metropolis of his diocese.*

THIS storm having been thus appeased, another much more violent arose at *Saragossa*, the capital of the kingdom of *Aragon*. They were called there in the year 1547, by don *John Gonzales*, protector of the kingdom; and the friends which they had acquired in this city, among whom was *Peter Augustin*, bishop of *Huesca*, had bought them some houses to lodge them, till they had a college built for them.

BUT both secular and regular ecclesiastics, seeing that these new comers already began to break in upon their prerogatives, by building a chapel, resolved to oppose this bold attempt. The *Augustins*, seconded by the curate of *Magdalene* parish, who was

Barnardine, and nephew of the grand-vicar of the archbishop of *Saragossa*, gave them to understand, that, by a special privilege, granted both to them and to all other mendicant orders, it was expressly forbid to build any church or monastery within forty yards of their convents; that therefore, till this decree was revoked, they had a right to make them discontinue the building of the chapel which they had begun, because it was within the limits prohibited by their privilege.

THE *Jesuits* not paying the least regard to this prohibition, carried on their building with more vigour than ever. They insisted upon it, that it was above an hundred and fifty yards from the convent of the *Augustines*; and that likewise the bulls, which the popes had granted them, having formerly derogated from these privileges, and given them the power to build churches wherever they thought fit, they could not dispute with them this right, without being guilty of disobeying the holy see.

THE chapel being finished, they made choice of a festival, to celebrate in it, with greater solemnity, the first mass. They invited the viceroy, the greatest lords of his court, and the principal citizens to be present at it. The day appointed for the ceremony being come, just when the priest was going

26 THE HISTORY OF

up to the altar, the grand-vicar sent an order to stop him. But the *Jesuits*, paying no regard to this order, celebrated their mass with all the pomp they had prepared for this occasion.

THE grand-vicar, by the contempt which was offered to his authority, forbid the people, under whatever pretence, to be present when they said mass, or any other part of divine service. He caused this decree to be fixed upon their gates, and ordered the curates to publish it from their pulpits. Not contented with this, he excommunicated all the *Jesuits* of *Saragossa*, by dolefully ringing of bells, and all the horrible ceremonies practised upon such occasions,

THIS excommunication rendered them so odious, that every body shunned them as damned souls. They painted them and the bishop of *Huesca*, their patron, grasped in the claws of devils, who were casting them into hell-fire; and they hung up their pictures drawn in this frightful manner in all public places. Wherever they met them, they loaded them with the most odious reproaches. They even knocked at their doors to insult them, and flung a shower of stones against the windows of their houses. In fine, the people carried their resentment so far against them, that they would have extirpated them, if they had not saved them-

themselves from their fury by a precipitate flight.

Any class of mankind, besides *Jesuits*, would have bid an eternal farewell to a city which had treated them with so much contempt. But they, being accustomed to bear the greatest indignities, and even to turn them to their advantage, retired only for a little time, to shelter themselves from the storm, and to return when it was over. For this purpose, they retreated to *Pedroles*, a little town in the neighbourhood, where they made up the matter.

THE powerful friends which they had at *Sarragossa*, took their part so strongly, that they prevailed with the archbishop, through the dread of incurring the resentment of the pope, and the king, to revoke the decree of the grand-vicar, and to take off the excommunication which he had pronounced against them. Afterwards they engaged the senate to recal the *Jesuits* and make them welcome. This made them forget the insults which they had met with.

IN fine, it being resolved to receive them in triumph into the city, the grand-vicar, the senators, the magistrates, and the king's officers, accompanied by an incredible crowd of people, went before them. They put them upon mules sumptuously adorned.

Two gentlemen walked on the side of each

Jesuit, and in this manner they conducted them amidst the acclamations of the people, to the college of the society, where the vice-roy and inquisitors were waiting for them. The bishop of *Huesca* said mass in his pontifical robes, as a thanksgiving for their return, after which, they were put in possession of their houses, and their chapel.

IN this manner the *Jesuits* established themselves in *Spain*. We shall now shew, upon what occasion, and by what means, they introduced themselves into *Flanders*, the *United Provinces*, *England*, *Germany*, the *Empire* and the *North*.

SOME young *Spanish* *Jesuits*, who studied at *Paris*, having been obliged, in the year 1542, to quit *France*, because the *French* were at war with *Spain*, retired into the low-countries. *Dominic*, their superior, who had founded the college of *Valence*, brought them to *Louvain*, where he put them to their studies. As soon as they had compleated these, some of them went into the other cities of *Flanders*, with several of their companions, whom they had engaged to embrace the order of *Ignatius*.

THEY continued there a considerable time without houses, and lived only upon charity. But, in fine, having found means to insinuate themselves into the favour of some of the magistrates of *Tournay*, whose children they

they taught, they prevailed with the city to found a college for the new society.

THE difficulty was to get possession of it. The states of *Flanders*, which the inhabitants of *Tournay*, who did not love the *Jesuits*, incited against them, expressly forbade all religious orders newly founded, to build any house, monastery, church, chapel, or college, in any place whatever of the low-countries subject to the obedience of the catholic king, without a special privilege from his majesty.

IGNATIUS, being informed of this obstacle, immediately dispatched *Ribadeneyra* into *Flanders*, where at that time *Philip II*, resided. *Ribadeneyra*, supported by the recommendation of the pope, and assisted by the interest of *Don Gomez de Figueroa*, who was in high esteem with *Philip*, and an intimate friend of *Ignatius*, with greater ease obtained the favour which he requested, as he persuaded this monarch, who was a great biggot to the catholic religion, and an implacable enemy of the protestants, that none but heretics would oppose the establishment of the *Society of Jesus*, because they waged a continual war against them.

AFTERWARDS, through the interest of the duke of *Alba*, the duke of *Parma*, and the marquis of *Spinola*, they established themselves at *Antwerp*, *Bruges*, *Liege*, *Ghent*,
C 3 *Brussels*,

30 THE HISTORY OF

Brussels, Mons, Lisle, Doway, Maestricht, and in several other cities of the low countries. At *Antwerp* they bought the great *Hotel of Aix*, which they enlarged and considerably embellished. In fine, in a little time they grew extremely rich in *Flanders*, through the legacies that were left them by the *Spanish* officers, whom they made believe that they expiated by them the punishments deserved by the robberies, cruelties, and sacrileges which they had committed.

HAVING gained firm footing in *Flanders*, they form'd a design of going into the united provinces. They found means to creep in there under the disguise of merchants, being provided with passports, which prince *Maurice* had granted to the merchants of *Flanders* to procure them a free passage. But the states-general, being informed of the treasons they were carrying on, in order to subject the country to the pope and the king of *Spain*, to the first with regard to spiritual matters, and to the second with respect to temporals, published an edict * in which it was declared, *that all those who belonged to the destructive and bloody order of the Jesuits, that were to be found in the united provinces, should depart from thence, and that*

* On the fourth of *April* 1596.

that such as resided out of their dominions, should for ever remain without them, under the penalty, with regard to both, of incurring corporal punishment. The same edict obliged all the subjects of the republic, who had children in the colleges of the *Jesuits*, to recall them home within the space of a month, and forbid them to send them there ever after; declaring all those who had studied with them for ever incapable of enjoying any charge or office.

THIS edict, so many times confirmed and renewed, had not force enough to deter the *Jesuits* from coming into the United Provinces, where ever since they have remained. And tho' they dare not appear in public, notwithstanding their secrecy, they always have a considerable party there among the Roman catholics, and oppose the *Jansenists*, tho' they are protected by the state.

WHEN *Maestricht* became subject to the republic in 1632, the *Jesuits* enjoyed the full extent of their privileges; but they soon rendered themselves absolutely unworthy of them, for shortly after, father *John Baptist Boddens*, who was rector of their college, and father *Gerard Paesman*, and *Philip Nottin*, his brethren, treacherously conspired to deliver up this city to the *Spaniards*. Accordingly they were punished with the utmost severity, on the 14th and

32 THE HISTORY OF

20th of *July* 1638. But, according to the constant maxim of their company, they seemed to them only the more worthy of being inrolled among their martyrs.

THE reunion of *England* to the holy see was the object of the most ardent wishes of *Ignatius*. This kingdom, which formerly was the brightest gem in the pope's mitre, in the year 1534, had cast off the papal yoke; and acknowledged no other head of the *English* church, than *Henry* the VIIIth. But, during the reign of this prince, who was an irreconcilable enemy of the papacy, and in that of *Edward* the VIth, his son and successor, he was obliged to confine his zeal to simple desires.

He thought he could bring it about under the bloody reign of queen *Mary*, who succeeded *Edward*, her brother. As soon as he heard that she had desired *Julius* III, to send into *England* cardinal *Reginald de la Pole*, with the character of legate, to reconcile the kingdom to the church of *Rome*, he offered this prelate to receive into one of the society's colleges, established at *Rome*, as many *English* young men of good natural parts, as his eminence should think fit to send him. His design was to educate them in the maxims of the society, and to send them afterwards into their own country,

to

to defend there the pretensions of the holy see.

BUT his offer being rejected, he wrote to *Spain* to *Araoz*, and *Francis de Borgia*, the one a provincial, the other a commissary of the company in this kingdom; and ordered them to use their utmost efforts to go into *England* along with *Don Philip*, the son of *Charles V.* who was going thither to espouse *Mary*. This order came too late, and when *Ignatius* was told of it, he ordered *Bernard Olivier*, who was at *Tournay* to go immediately to *London* with a companion. Accordingly *Olivier* went forthwith to *Anvers*, to embark; but the unexpected return of *Philip* into the low countries obliged him to decline this voyage, as he did not undertake it but in hopes of being protected by this prince.

IGNATIUS having miscarried in his different attempts, the *Jesuits*, animated by the same zeal with him, used all their endeavours to get into *England*. Seeing that *Mary* restored the ecclesiastical estates which had been annexed to the crown, they thought their ministry was necessary to prevail with the lords, who were in possession of those estates, to follow the queen's example.

THEREFORE they insinuated to cardinal *de la Pole*, that the *Benedictins* were a burthen to the public, instead of assisting them;

them; but, as for themselves, if they could obtain the suppressed monasteries, they would turn them into seminaries and colleges; and that as no body understood better than they the art of moving the consciences of dying people, in a few years, they would make the church recover the greatest part of its patrimony.

THIS proposal was likewise rejected by *de la Pole*, who never would employ them, nor even allow them to come into *England*. This was an extream mortification to them, and made them look upon this worthy cardinal as an enemy to their Society.

De la Pole died the 17th of *November* 1558; but the *Jesuits* were nothing the nearer for his death, because on the same day *England* lost *Mary*; and *Elizabeth*, who succeeded her, re-established the protestant religion. *Paul V*, and *Pius IV*, having made vain efforts to bring her back within the pale of the catholic church, the one by haughty menaces, the other by mild admonitions. In fine, *Pius V*, who succeeded the last, solemnly excommunicated this princess, on the 25th of *February* 1569.

THE sentence pronounced against her was as follows, *that in quality of a sovereign, established over all nations, to pull down, destroy, dissolve, put to death, to make settlements and raise edifices, he declared the said Elizabeth a heretic,*

tic, and protector of heretics; cut her off and her adherents from the body of Jesus Christ; deprived her of her pretended right to the crown of England, and all other dominions, dignities and prerogatives; freed her subjects and all others, from their oaths of allegiance, in whatever manner they might have tendered them; and forbid them, under the penalty of excommunication to obey her edicts, statutes and mandates.

ONE John Felton was so religiously mad as to fix this sentence upon the door of the bishop of London's palace, and to boast even upon the scaffold, where he received the reward of his fanaticism, that he had done a singular service to the good cause.

THERE were some catholics in the northern provinces of the kingdom, who, in vertue of the pope's bull, took up arms against the queen; but the conspiracy being discovered, was stifled in its birth. The queen herself reaped this advantage by it, that the parliament, to prevent such revolts for the future, decreed the punishment of death to those who should call her majesty, schismatic, heretic, infidel, or usurper; and forbid under the same penalty the bringing into the kingdom bulls, briefs, or other dispatches from Rome.

THIS decree, which was made with no other view than to protect the sovereign au-

authority from the flagitious enterprises of a foreign power, could not affect the consciences of catholics who were willing to live as loyal subjects. Likewise the most learned and religious divines among them made no scruple to declare both publicly, and in writing, *that they acknowledged in queen Elizabeth, as full and entire an authority, power and superiority over them and all the other subjects of the kingdom, as in any other of her predecessors; that, notwithstanding any contrary authority whatever, or any declaration made or to be made, either against the queen, or against those of her subjects who continue in their obedience to her, and cease not, to support her rights, and those of her dominions, they would defend her and their country, upon all occasions, and that they would always obey her majesty in all temporal concerns.*

IN consideration of such a satisfactory declaration, the catholics were permitted to exercise privately their religion, and their priests were allowed to administer to them the sacraments in the same manner as before. They enjoyed this tranquility, when the missionaries, educated in the *English* seminaries of *Rome* and *Rheims*, and sent by the pope, came to disturb it, by making them scruple their obedience to the queen.

THESE missionaries had two Jesuits at their head, called *Robert Parsons* and *Edmond Campian*,

pian, both *Englishmen*, and the first Jesuits that set foot in *England*. They embraced the protestant religion, in the beginning of queen *Elizabeth's* reign; but afterwards becoming catholics again, they left *England* and went to *Rome* to turn Jesuits.

Gregory XIII. who found in them all the qualities necessary to make the design succeed which he had conceived, of reducing *England* to the obedience of the holy see, sent them thither in the beginning of the year 1580, with a bull, which confirmed the excommunication fulminated by *Pius V.* his predecessor, against *Elizabeth*.

BUT, as the *English* catholicks were less powerful than they were represented to the credulous *Pius*, and besides, as they could not resist with impunity, a queen, who was inferior to no prince upon earth in the art of making herself obeyed; *Gregory*, that he might not expose them to the rigour of the penal laws, permitted them, by his bull, a passive obedience, till such time as being in a stronger condition, they were able to put the bull of *Pius V.* publickly in execution.

OUR two brave champions, being well-instructed by *Everard Mercurian*, their general, what they were to do to accomplish the desire of the holy see, set out from *Rome*, full of zeal and courage, and resolved to overcome or die. They took the rout of *France*; and embarking separately, in the disguise

disguise of soldiers, both arrived at *London*, and met again.

THEY ran such great risques there, that they were obliged to seek a more secure asylum in the remoter provinces: but, before they quitted this metropolis, *Campion* wrote to the lords of the king's council a letter, by which he supplicated them to obtain for him, from the queen, leave to dispute, in her presence, against the most celebrated doctors and professors of the two universities of the kingdom; offering to demonstrate to them, by invincible arguments, the truth of the catholick faith, and to oblige them to acknowledge, that the separation of the protestants from *Rome* was unjustifiable.

As to the rest, added he, *I would have you to know, my lords, that all the Jesuits of our company, diffused over the whole world, are entered into a league against you for your conversion, and being determined to suffer with intrepidity the punishments which you prepare for us, do not despair of your salvation, as long as one of us remains to hang at Tyburn.*

Soon after his departure from *London*, he wrote a little treatise, which he caused to be privately printed, and distributed in all parts a great many copies of it. This treatise, which he dedicated to the universities of *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, contained ten proofs of the catholick religion: proofs, according to him, so convincing, that they were sufficient to
justify

justify him in the impudence with which he had challenged alone to a controversy all the doctors of so learned a nation.

NEVERTHELESS the queen, being informed of the views with which *Parsons* and *Campion* were returned into *England*, and seeing that they had so changed the inclinations of the catholicks, that most of them ceased to be of that religion not from any principle of conscience, but only from a mere spirit of faction, resolved to cut off and eradicate so great an evil.

ACCORDINGLY she published a very severe act against the Jesuits, missionaries, and sayers of masses, who were in the kingdom, should come, or be sent into it, forbidding all her subjects, under the penalty of being punished as rebels, not only to receive, entertain, succour, or countenance any of those emissaries of the pope; but likewise enjoining them under the same penalty, to discover those whom they knew sheltered such disturbers of the public tranquillity, or neglected to give information of them to the nearest magistrate at hand, in order to their being apprehended, examined and punished according to the rigour of the laws of the realm, and the statutes of her majesty.

AFTER the publication of this act, they searched all the houses of suspected catholicks, and a reward, nay a general pardon for all crimes, was promised to any body that should
impeach

impeach, or deliver into the hands of justice any Jesuit. *Parsons* had the good luck to escape the most diligent searches after him. But *Campion*, notwithstanding the precaution he took to change his name, his cloaths and lodging every day, was discovered by the treachery of a false brother, called *George Eliot*; and being arrested in the castle of *Lyford*, he was brought to *London*, where he was prosecuted in form.

His judges, being willing to convince him by his own doctrine, that he was returned into the kingdom only to withdraw the queen's subjects from their allegiance, put to him the following questions, and insisted upon his answering them categorically.

THEY asked him, I. Whether the bull of *Pius V.* against the queen, was just; and whether her subjects were obliged to submit to it? II. Whether *Elizabeth* was a lawful queen, whom the *English* nation ought to obey, notwithstanding this bull, or any other sentence that the pope had pronounced, or might pronounce for the future against her majesty? III. Whether the pope had a right to give power to the queen's subjects to take up arms against her; and whether they could do it lawfully, or no? IV. Whether the pope, for any cause whatever, can absolve her majesty's subjects from the oath of allegiance which they have taken to her? V. Whether doctor *Nicholas Sanders*, and *Richard Bristol*,

Bristol, taught truth or error, by approving and confirming as they did, the bull of *Pius V.* the one in his book intituled, *The visible monarchy of the church*, the other in his treatise of *Reasons for embracing the catholick faith?* VI. Which side the *English* ought to take, if the pope should happen by a bull or a declaration to pronounce the queen an unlawful queen, and free her subjects from their oath of allegiance and invade the kingdom, or cause it to be invaded by any other invested with his authority?

Campion, who could not honestly answer these questions, without declaring himself guilty of the crime with which he was charged, chose to wave them. *I am not obliged*, said he, *to answer these questions, which this tribunal has no right to put, whose business it is to judge facts and not thoughts. It belongs to the universities to propose such topics and to resolve them by theological arguments.* But, notwithstanding this subterfuge, it was legally proved that he had taught, that the queen was lawfully deposed, and that he had brought from *Rome* a bull, which confirmed this deposition. Therefore, according to the laws of *England*, he was condemned to the common punishment of criminals for high-treason, which was inflicted upon him at *Tyburn* the first of *December*, 1581.

HIS

HIS execution, which was followed by that of *Alexander Briant*, did not in the least diminish the zeal of the Jesuits. Firm to the vow which they had made of regaining *England* or perishing in the attempt, they laboured with greater ardour than ever to accomplish this dangerous undertaking. *Thomas Cotton* (1), *John Cornel* (2), *Robert Southwell* (3), *Henry Walpole* (4), *Roger Filcock* (5), and *Francis Page* (6), distinguished themselves among the rest; and by braving the gibbet, met with what they sought after.

FEW conspiracies were carried on against *Elizabeth* in which the Jesuits were not more or less concerned. *Bennet Palmio*, and *Hanibal Codret*, countenanced that of *William Parry* (7); *William Holt* advised those of *Patrick Cullen*, *Williams* and *York* (8). And it was by the exhortations of *Richard Walpole* (9) that *Squire* resolved to poison this princess.

JAMES I. who succeeded *Elizabeth*, in the beginning of his reign (10) published a proclamation, by which they were all banished the kingdom; not out of hatred to the catholick religion, as it plainly appears, but only because they taught, that the pope had a right to excommunicate kings, to depose them, to give their kingdoms to others, and to absolve their subjects from their oaths of allegiance.

(1) In 1582. (2) In 1601. (3) In 1595. (4) In 1595. (5) In 1601. (6) In 1602. (7) In 1519 (8) In 1592. and in 1594. (9) In 1597. (10) In 1604.

allegiance. This proclamation, which was not rigorously executed, left the catholicks the liberty to believe what they thought fit; and required nothing of them but that they should renounce the belief that the bishop of *Rome* has any superiority over kings.

He confirmed this toleration in the speech which he made at the opening of the first parliament that he called. But, as they flattered themselves that this prince, who greatly caressed them, and made them specious promises, when he was only king of *Scotland*, would re establish their religion, some of the most zealous amongst them, whose consciences the Jesuits directed, seeing all their hopes frustrated, and being discontented with a liberty which they could not purchase but by abjuring the favourite opinion of their directors, formed, in order to obtain their full swing, the blackest design that ever was heard of. This was to blow up the king, the queen, prince *Henry*, the presumptive heir of the crown, the peers of the kingdom, and all the provincial deputies, by springing a mine under the parliament-house, while the king was making his speech to the lords and commons.

BUT an anonymous letter, wrote by one of the conspirators to a lord of his acquaintance, whose life he was willing to save, discovered, and rendered ineffectual this diabolical plot, which proved fatal only to the conspirators,
of

of which eight of the ringleaders were executed for high treason on the 31st of December, 1606.

By their depositions it appeared, that *Henry Garnet*, *Oswald Tesmond*, and *John Gerard*, all three Jesuits, had been consulted, and had approved of the conspiracy. The two last escaped; but the first was taken up, as was likewise another of his brethren, called *Edward Oldcorn*.

THEY were both condemned to the same punishment that had been inflicted upon the conspirators; *Garnet*, for not having discovered the plot, of which he was legally proved to have had full knowledge; and *Oldcorn*, for having said in public, after the plot was discovered, that the miscarriage of it did not render the attempt less justifiable; and for having exhorted his followers not to be discouraged at it, but to hope that God would bless some other enterprise.

AT last, after the assassination of *Henry IV.* which happened at *Paris*, in the year 1610, *James*, who was frightened at the danger he was in of undergoing the same fate, while there were any Jesuits in his dominions, issued out a proclamation, by which they were all ordered to depart the kingdom. But, notwithstanding this proclamation, and all the severe edicts which were published from time to time, against them, always some of them have remained in *England*; where,

where, in order to disguise themselves, they assume all sorts of characters, even that of quakers, which they are very dexterous in mimicking.

GERMANY was more favourable to them; *William IV.* duke of *Bavaria*, who had made an oath to extirpate the protestants by force of arms, desired *Ignatius* to send him some divines of his society, in order to raise the reputation of the catholic divinity, which *Lutber's* and *Calvin's* disciples, rendered quite contemptible. For this purpose, *Ignatius* chose *Salmeron*, *Le Jay*, and *Canisius*, and desired them, in passing through *Boulogne*, to take the degree of doctors, to the end that they might have a character which might give a sanction to their doctrine. *Salmeron* undertook to explicate the Epistles of *St. Paul*; *Le Jay*, *David's* Psalms; and *Canisius*, the master of sentences.

Tho' they were dignified with the specious title of doctors, nevertheless their lessons were not looked upon as more solid by the protestants. However, they were so well received by the catholicks, that *William* resolved to build for them a magnificent college. Death prevented his design, but they lost nothing by it; for *Albert V.* his son, to whom he recommended them on his death-bed, instead of this college, founded two for them; one at *Ingolstadt*, the other at *Munich*, the capital of his dominions.

Ferdinand,

46 THE HISTORY OF

Ferdinand, King of the *Romans*, tho' favourable to the protestants, with whom he agreed pretty well in the principal articles of religion, nevertheless, to please the pope, whom he stood in need of, invited the Jesuits to come to *Vienna*. At first he placed them among the *Dominicans*, but they did not remain there long. The fear of incommoding those religious made them seek fresh quarters, and they went to live in a deserted convent, which the *Carmelites*, to whom it belonged, readily surrendered to them, says *Ribadeneyra*. Upon the ruins of this convent *Ferdinand* built for them a college. This prince likewise founded for them those of *Inspruck* and *Prague*. In fine, the company in a very short time got colleges in the principal cities of *Germany*, at *Cologne*, *Awyence*, *Treves*, *Gratz*, *Hall*, *Dillinghen*, &c.

COLLEGES were likewise founded for them in the northern provinces, at *Clausembourg* in *Transilvania*, *Riga* in *Livonia*, *Poloezzo* in *Lithuania*, *Bransberg* in *Prussian Poland*; in *Hungary*, *Moravia*, *Poland*, *Dantzick*, and in fine at *Thorn*, whence they were expelled with ignominy in the year 1606; but they came back again to the great misfortune of the protestants of this city.

NEVERTHELESS, the divinity of the Jesuits had but little effect in comparison of that of the protestants, whose faith was daily embraced by such numbers, that the catholicks were

were ashamed of theirs. *Ignatius*, who had too good an opinion of his emissaries, to attribute to their want of capacity the small success which they met with, chose rather to impute it to their bad speaking of the *German* tongue. Being prepossessed with this opinion, he thought of an expedient to remedy this inconvenience ; which was to establish at *Rome* a *German* college, for the educating of the *German* youth in scholastic divinity, in order to send them afterwards into their own country to defend the pope's infallibility.

JULIUS III. with great joy, approved an establishment so advantageous to the holy see. He made a foundation for the support of this college, and appointed *Ignatius*, not only to chuse, but likewise to govern and instruct these young *Germans*. *Ignatius* sent for twenty-four from different parts of *Germany*, and, by the pope's order, made rules and constitutions for them, and gave them jesuits for their directors and masters.

THE principal revenue of this *German* seminary, soon after the death of *Julius* III. not being paid, and the extreme dearth with which *Rome* was afflicted under the pontificate of *Paul* IV. making *Ignatius* afraid that this new establishment would be ruined, he distributed part of these young foreigners into different colleges of the company, and made

48 THE HISTORY OF

made the rest subsist as well as they could, by alms and borrowing.

HAVING weathered out the worst of the time, charities were brought to them from all parts ; and the same spirit, which had excited *Julius III.* to found a college, some years after, animated *Gregory XIII.* to increase the revenues, and to erect the buildings in a more sumptuous manner.

THIS was not the only mark of benevolence which he shewed to the jesuits. In consideration of the singular services which they had rendered the holy see, and to encourage them still to do more, he built for them, from the ground, the *Roman college*, which *Don Francis de Borgia* had founded. This pope spared no cost to make this edifice worthy the capital of the world ; and having distinguished himself by being the founder of it, he caused the following inscription to be engraved upon the first stone of the foundation : POPE GREGORY *founded and endowed this college of the society of Jesus, out of a pure motive of zeal for the christian religion, and the particular affection which he bears this society, desiring it may be used as a seminary for all nations. Rome, in the year of our Lord 1582, and the tenth of his pontificate.*

THE enterprises of the jesuits met with as much success in *Asia* as in *Europe*. *Xavier*, who was *Ignatius's* vicegerent in the *Indies*,
la-

laboured with indefatigable zeal to establish the company in that vast country. As soon as he had finished the college of *Goa*, he set out for the Fishing-coast, and passed through the cape of *Comorin*, the kingdom of *Travencor*, the islands of *Mora*, *Manaz*, *Ceilon*, the *Moluccas*, and all the *Indies*.

His custom was to carry a bell in his hand, and by ringing it, to assemble the children. He taught them to make the sign of the cross, the *Confiteor*, *Our Father*, *Hail Mary*, the *Salve Regina*, and a little catechism, all which he translated into the language of the natives, which he had learnt, after a fashion, from some of them who could speak a little *Portuguese*. When the children could say these prayers by heart, he enjoined them to teach them to their fathers, mothers, relations, domestics and neighbours.

By the assistance of these little emissaries, he brought over to the catholick faith an infinite number of idolaters, who suffered themselves to be baptised with the greatest pleasure imaginable. But relapsing afterwards to their idolatry with the same ease, he thought proper, in order to prevent this misfortune, to establish a sort of inquisition, and appointed the children whom he had converted, to be the officers of it. He took them along with him to the suspected houses which they shewed him, and made them executioners of the sentences that were passed

againſt thoſe, who, after having received baptiſm, privately practiſed idolatry.

ONE day, having detected a man in this crime, he commanded the children to go and ſet fire to his houſe, to give him to underſtand thereby, that the adorers of devils deſerved to burn eternally as devils. The children flew there, and would have punctually obeyed their maſter's orders, if the infidel, to ſave his houſe, had not abandoned to them his idols, which they immediately burnt to aſhes, as they did all that they could lay their hands upon.

THE number of the *Indian* proſelytes daily increaſing, *Xavier*, not being able to inſtruct them all, was obliged to go to *Goa* to get ſome of the company to aſſiſt him. He ſtaid there no longer than it was neceſſary for that purpoſe, and then returned to his converts. The new conqueſts which he had ſtill in view, requiring a greater reinforcement than he had brought with him, he wrote to all parts for auxiliary forces. He even invited the doctors of the *Sorbonne* to come and ſhare with him the glory of his triumphs ; and to encourage them thereto, he aſſured them that there ſtill remained a plentiful harveſt of laurels to crown their labours.

IN the mean time, till he ſhould get the reinforcement which he ſent for, he reſolved to go to *Madagaſcar*, an iſland two hundred leagues long, divided into ſeveral kingdoms,
well

well peopled, and abounding in all sorts of riches. He flattered himself that he should be the better received there, as two kings of this island, who were baptised by a *Portuguese* merchant, desired to have priests sent to them, in order to administer to them the sacraments, and baptise their subjects. Accordingly, he set out for *Malaca*, with a design of pursuing his journey to *Madagascar*: But, instead of going to that island, he went to *Amboina*, *Baranura*, *Ulata*, the *Moluccas*, and *Ternate*, where he thought he should be more wanted.

AFTER having established the company in all those places, he returned to *Malaca*, where he staid a few days. Being upon the point of his departure, the *Portuguese* ships, which used to come every year from *China*, arrived there. A *Japonesse* gentleman, called *Auger*, came in one of them. He was a married man, about thirty-five years old, and rich, who having committed a murder in his own country, came to seek refuge in the *Portuguese Indies*. They conducted him to *Xavier*, who, after having instructed him in the first principles of the catholick faith, sent him, and his two servants, who were likewise natives of *Japan*, to the seminary of *Gea*.

NEVERTHELESS, *Xavier*, being desirous to visit again the Fishing-coast, embarked for *Cochin*, where he arrived the 21st of Ja-

52 THE HISTORY OF

nuary, 1548. As his principal design was to establish the company in the *Indies*, he got together all the jesuits that were on the coast, and distributed them in their proper places, appointing *Antony Criminal* for their superior. Then he set out for *Goa*, and arrived there the 20th of *March* of the same year 1548. The first thing he did was to visit the three *Japonesse*, whom he found entirely disposed to receive baptism. He instructed them again himself, and in fine, they were baptised in the cathedral church, with great solemnity, by Don *John Albuquerque*, bishop of *Goa*.

THE discourses which *Xavier* had with them concerning their country, and the ease with which they embraced the catholick faith, made him form a design of conquering *Japan*, which the *Portuguese* had lately discovered *. This enterprize appeared to him the more worthy of his undertaking, as no spiritual knight-errant had hitherto set footing in that empire, and as he persuaded himself that the glory of such a dangerous adventure was reserved for him.

BEEFORE he set out for this great voyage, he appointed *Paul Camerin* superior general of all the *Indies* in his stead; and *Antony Gomez*, rector of the seminary of *Goa*. He sent missionaries to the Fishing-coast, to the island of *Mauar*, *Ormuz*, and divers other places. And

* In 1542.

And after having told *Camerin* the manner in which he would have the company governed, he embarked with *Cosma de Torex*, *John Fernandez*, and the three *Japonefe* profelytes. It was in the month of *April* 1549. They set out from *Cochin* the 25th of the same month, and came the latter end of *May* to *Malaca*, where they embarked the 24th of *June*, in a *Chinese* vessel, which arrived at a port of *Japan*, the 15th of *August* 1549.

JAPAN is a country that consists of divers islands, of which the principal gives name to the whole. All these islands were formerly governed by one ecclesiastical emperor, called the *Dayri*, who, according to the opinion of the people, descended in a right line from the gods of the country. This *Dayri* was the spiritual and temporal lord of all *Japan*. His reign began 660 years before *JESUS CHRIST*, and his descendants reigned alone, as he had done, above eighteen ages.

BUT in the year 1195 of the christian æra, *Jerotimo*, generalissimo of all the troops of the state, seeing an effeminate emperor upon the throne, rebelled against him; and making himself master of *Meaco*, and the neighbouring provinces, he usurped the royal authority. Upon this, the governors of the other provinces likewise took up arms; and, under the specious pretence of opposing *Jerotimo*, made themselves sovereigns of their

54 THE HISTORY OF

provinces ; so that the monarchy was divided into sixty fix kingdoms.

THEY left to the *Dayri*, out of respect to his divine extraction, and to please the people, who revered him as a God upon earth, all the royal prerogatives ; but, without any other power, than that of giving vain titles of honour to kings and grandees, of governing monarchically the *Japoneſe* church, of which he is the ſovereign biſhop, and of canonizing the dead men.

SINCE this revolution, *Japan* has had two emperors, the one eccleſiaſtical, who is but a phantom of a monarch ; the other ſecular, who is the true and only ſovereign.

WITH regard to religion, while *Xavier* was there, it was under no constraint : every body was free to embrace whatever ſect he had a mind, and even to introduce a new one, provided it did not interfere with the ſtate.

AT that time, there were three principal ſects, which ſtill ſubſiſt, and are ſubdivided into ſeveral others. The firſt was the *ancient paganiſm*, the ſecond the *modern paganiſm*, and the third the *religion of the philoſophers*.

THE followers of the firſt, which they call *Sintoïſtes*, acknowledge one ſupreme God, and inferior deities. As they look upon theſe deities to be too much ſuperior to human things to take any concern about them, they do

do not worship them ; but instead thereof they adore certain spirits, which, as they think, preside over the things of this world, and have it in their power to make men happy or unhappy.

THESE spirits are of three different orders. The first being seven in number, are celestial spirits, that had existence before the heavens, and have governed *Japan* for several thousand ages. The second, being descended from the last of these celestial spirits, are terrestrial spirits, less ancient by far, but nevertheless of a very great antiquity. The third have been illustrious men, who, having distinguished themselves by their heroic actions, or an eminent sanctity, have been canonized by the *Dayri's*.

IT is to these three orders of spirits, that the *Syntoistes* pay a religious worship, consecrate temples, and erect altars. It is to please them, and to render them propitious that they practise interior and exterior purity, solemnize feasts in their honour, make pilgrimages, and chastise their bodies.

THO' they have some idea of the immortality of the soul, and a future state of happiness and unhappiness ; yet they express little concern about what is to come of them in the next world, and all their view is to be happy in this.

THE sect of the *modern paganism*, or of the *Budoistes*, teaches, that the souls of animals

56 THE HISTORY OF

are of the same substance as those of men, and that they are immortal as they are; that the souls of men, who have lived well, go to a region of eternal pleasure; and those of the wicked, to a place of punishment, where they are tortured in proportion to their crimes; but that these torments are not eternal, and may be shortened by the good works of the parents and friends of the deceased; especially by offerings made to the merciful *Amida*, and charities given to this great deity of *Japan*. Virtue is the only means which *Budoisme* prescribes, to please *Amida*, and to make the adherers to it worthy of enjoying with him eternal happiness. It consists in abstaining from murder, robbery, adultery, lying, and drinking strong liquors; that is to say, in precepts merely negative.

THE sect of philosophers, or of moralists, is the same as that of the learned of *China*. It is mere atheism, as it will appear in the course of this work. All their morality consists in living virtuously, in doing justice to every body, in obeying the laws, and in treating every body humanely and with politeness.

IN other respects, the religion of *Japan* has a great resemblance to that of the church of *Rome*. It has, but under different denominations, a pope, bishops, priests, religious and hermits of both sexes. The natives in-
voke

voke saints, worship relics, adore statues and images, make processions and pilgrimages, tell beads, practise voluntary mortifications and penances, believe a purgatory, and pray for the dead.

SUCH were in general the government and religion of *Japan*, when *Xavier* came there to preach the catholick faith. He arrived with his companions at *Cangoxima*, the place of *Anger's* birth. This city belonging to the king of *Saxuma*, as soon as *Anger* came there, he went to pay his duty to this prince. He was kindly received by him, and easily obtained pardon for the crime which had obliged him to go away. Their conversation was chiefly about the christian religion; and *Anger*, remarking that the king took a pleasure to hear him talk of it, shewed him a picture of the virgin, who held the infant *Jesus* in her arms. The picture was extremely well painted, and *Xavier* had given it to a *Japonese*, that he might shew it as there was occasion. The king was so highly delighted at the sight of it, that he fell upon his knees with all his courtiers, to adore her whom he saw painted, and whom he took for a goddess.

HE ordered it to be shewn to the queen his mother. She was more affected at the sight of it than her son: Not contented with adoring the virgin and little *Jesus*, with all the ladies of her retinue, she asked a thousand

questions about the mother and her son. She was so well satisfied with the account which *Anger* gave of them, that, to keep them in her mind, she desired a copy of the picture, and an epitome of the principal articles of the catholick religion. It was not in his power to content her with regard to the picture, because no painter could be found that was capable of making a draught of it; but he gave her the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Maria*, and some other very devout prayers, wrote in the *Japonese* language, with which she was highly pleased.

XAVIER, delighted to see the court of *Saxuma* in such good dispositions, gave himself entirely up to the study of the *Japonese* language. Tho' this language is one of the most difficult in the world; nevertheless, in less than forty days, he thought he understood it sufficiently to make himself be understood, and he went to ask the king's permission to preach christianity in his dominions. The king very graciously granted his request, and even gave him a patent, by virtue of which all his subjects that were willing, were allowed to turn christians.

XAVIER, taking the advantage of such a great favour, began immediately to preach at *Cangoxima*; and the first thing he did was to expound the articles of the Creed. That of the existence of a God, creator of heaven and earth, strangely surprised his audience.

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He never was able to make them comprehend, that any thing was created out of nothing. The other articles about the Trinity and Incarnation, frightened them a great deal more. They were so disgusted at them, that they treated the preacher as a visionary and laughed at him. This bad success did not in the least discourage him. He courageously withstood these difficulties, and endeavoured to make them comprehend, by the way of reason, incomprehensible mysteries, which reason cannot admit but by totally submitting itself to the weight of divine authority. However, by the influence of his preaching, some were induced to believe him and suffered themselves to be baptised.

BUT the Bonze's, whose interest it was to keep the people in the religion of the country, because they lived only upon the offerings which they made to the gods, resolved to hinder *Xavier* and his companions from making any farther progress.

THEY went in a body to the king. They represented to him, that he could not permit, without impiety, three miserable foreigners, who were come to seek their bread in *Japan*, to destroy the altars of the tutelar gods of the empire in order to erect new ones to an unknown, turbulent and seditious God, who would allow no other deity to be worshipped but himself. *Tho' you are king, my liege*, said they, *it does not belong to your province*

vince to be the arbiter of religion, and the judge of gods, who have put the crown upon your head, and by whom you reign. If therefore you do not banish the false Bonzes who make war against them, prepare yourself to withstand that which the emperor and the kings of Japan will wage against you, to revenge the injuries done to Xaca and Amida.

THE Bonzes could not have spoke to the king at a more favourable time. He had just heard that the *Portuguese* ships, which commonly arrived at *Cangoxima*, had taken the rout of *Firando*: and he was extremely vexed at it; not only, because his dominions received no profit from the commerce of the *Portuguese*, but likewise, because the king of *Firando*, who was his enemy, had all the advantage of it. As the favour which he at first shewed *Xavier* and his companions, had no other foundation than interest, he behaved very cold to them, after he had received this news.

I THANK you, said he to the Bonzes, for the salutary advice you have given me. I never had a design to make any innovation in matters of religion, and if I have shewed some marks of bounty, to these strange Bonzes, it was to draw the *Portuguese* into my kingdom and enrich my subjects by a commerce with them, but since they have deceived me I will be revenged on them; return in peace to your monasteries, and you shall

shall soon see I have as much zeal for the religion of *Japan* as the most zealous Bonzes in my kingdom. In effect, as soon as they left him, he published an edict, by which he forbid all his subjects on pain of death to quit the ancient religion of their country, to embrace the new law preached by the *European* Bonzes.

XAVIER judging that a prohibition so severe would hinder the *Cangoximans* from having any commerce with him, left the kingdom of *Saxuma*, and retired into the dominions of the king of *Firando*, where he was very well received. This prince, charmed with having an occasion to give umbrage to the king of *Saxuma*, permitted the three *Portuguese* Bonzes to publish their law all over his kingdom. *Xavier* began immediately to preach in the city of *Firando*, where he gained more converts in twenty days than in a whole year at *Cangoxima*.

A FACILITY so great induced him to leave the teachable *Firando's* to *Terret*, to finish the reduction of them, while he went to *Meaco*, where he always had a design to go; it was the capital of the empire, the conquest of which included that of all *Japan*.

HE set out with *Fernandez* and two *Japanese* converts, upon this great voyage, the end of *October* in the year 1550; they gained *Facata* by sea, which is about twenty leagues from *Firando*, and from thence embarked
for

for *Amanguchi*, which is more than a hundred leagues distant.

AMANGUCHI is the capital of the kingdom of *Naugato*, and one of the richest cities in all *Japan*. *Xavier* stopped there to preach, but all the fruit he reaped from a month's labour there, was to pass among them for a fabulist.

He pursued his voyage the latter end of the month of *December*, in a season of continual rains, and was obliged to traverse frightful forests, countries overflowed with water, impetuous torrents, to clamber up mountains and steep rocks, to pass through a thousand thorny bushes, walk upon sharp flints, and suffer an infinite number of hardships ; all which he bore with a heroic courage, and at last arrived at *Meaco*, in *February* 1551. He endeavoured to procure an audience of the sovereign pontiff of the *Japanese* religion, and not being able to obtain it for want of money, he preached in public places without permission. They despised him so much that they would not even condescend to hear him ; and after having preached in vain for fifteen days in this great city, where he promised himself so many wonders, he returned to *Amanguchi*, much afflicted at seeing his greatest enterprise miscarry.

As soon as he arrived there he obtained audience of the king, by means of some presents

sents he made him, which he had the precaution to bring from *Firando*, through which he had passed.

THESE presents consisted of a small clock, a musical instrument very harmonious, and some little works, the rarity of which made all the value. *Oxindondo*, the king of *Aman-guchi*, was so charmed with these curiosities that he permitted *Xavier* to preach the *European* religion, and his subjects to embrace it.

HIS preaching was, they say, attended with many miracles; among which, they report one so singular that the like was never heard of, which was, that he decided by one single word, ten or twelve different questions.

SUCH as, what is the immortality of the soul, the motions of the heavens. eclipses of the sun and moon, the colours of the rainbow, sin and grace, paradise and hell. This prodigy, incredible as it is, was not extraordinary, but very common to *Xavier*, say the historians. Thus he baptised at *Aman-guchi* more than five hundred persons in less than two months.

SOME young Bonzes there were who approved his doctrine, but the old ones spared no pains to decry it.

WHAT God, said they, is it which this strange Bonze comes to declare to us? A cruel Deity, who has built frightful hells to torment

torment men with eternal punishments, without being willing to be appeased, or to take pity on their sufferings; a Deity who ordains a religion as necessary to salvation, and yet forbear for sixteen centuries to publish it in *Japan*, the most noble part of the world.

THIS discourse made such an impression on the *Japanese*, that they cried out, What, shall we embrace a religion which obliges us to believe that our ancestors are burning in hell?

THE Bonzes then inflamed the people by representing to them the inconsistency of eternal punishments with the attributes of God.

IT is not known what answer *Xavier* made to those objections, but to the charge which the Bonzes were always renewing, that it could not consist with the goodness of God to leave *Japan* so many ages in ignorance; The reply which he made has been handed down.

To remove this difficulty, he shewed them in general that the most ancient of all laws was that of nature, a law which God had engraved in the hearts of all men; that every one who came into the world brought with him certain precepts which his own reason and instinct taught him, then searching out in them the traces of natural religion, he insinuated they would conduct them to the knowledge of salvation if they had not effaced and obscured these lights by their crimes.

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THE Bonzes fearing the people would be satisfy'd with these reasons, did what the *Ignatians* themselves have done upon the like occasion; they rendered the christians suspected to the king, representing them as enemies to his person, so that *Oxindon* now became their persecutor.

NOTWITHSTANDING this change in the king, and the bad usage they gave those of his subjects who had received baptism, the numbers of the baptised increased to more than three thousand, but as the greater part of the *Japonese* declared they would not change their religion till the *Chinese*, whom they regarded as their masters in all sorts of sciences, had given them the example. *Xavier* therefore resolved to go and subject this great empire to the catholick faith, that the *Japonese* might have a motive for becoming christians.

IN the midst of these transactions a *Portuguese* ship commanded by *Edward Gama*, arrived at the kingdom of *Bungo*, and *Xavier* having been told that it would sail for *China* in a month at farthest, he left *Tarnes* and *Fernandez* at *Amanguchi*, and with five companions travelled on foot to join this vessel.

HE walked on with much alacrity till he came to a little village distant about two leagues from *Figen*, where his strength failing him he was obliged to stop, three of his companions went before to carry this news to
Gama,

Gama, who hearing he was so near, mounted his horse immediately with the principal *Portuguese* merchants, to go and receive him in state.

XAVIER, whom a little repose had quite refreshed, had already began to pursue his journey, and the cavalcade met him a quarter of a league from *Figen*, walking between the two companions who had remained with him, and carrying his portmanteau upon his back. *Gama* was no less surprised than edified at seeing a legate of the holy see in this equipage; and having dismounted, with all the company, saluted him in the most respectful manner imaginable, and paid him all the honours due to the eminent character with which he was invested. They then intreated him to mount a horse, but could not prevail upon him; so that the *Portuguese*, leaving their horses to follow them, walked themselves to the port.

As soon as they who remained in the ship saw *Xavier* appear, they saluted him with all their artillery, according to the orders their captain had left. As they repeated this compliment four times, the noise of the cannon was heard so distinctly at *Fuceo* that the people were alarmed, and the king imagining the *Portuguese* were attacked by certain corsairs who had for some time ravaged his coast, sent one of the gentlemen of his court to the captain of the vessel to know the truth.

GAMA,

GAMA, shewing *Xavier* to this gentleman, told him, the noise with which they had been alarmed, was only a small demonstration of respect which they owed to so great a person, who was so much beloved of heaven, and esteemed by the king of *Portugal*. The *Japonese* seeing nothing but what was poor and contemptible in him of whom they vaunted so much, continued some time without speaking; then with the air of a man who awakened from a dream, I am at a loss, said he, what reply to make to my prince, for what you say agrees so little with what I see, and with what the Bonzes of *Amangucbi* have reported to us, if we believe them. Your Bonze is a miserable wretch, so despised and cursed by all the earth, that the vermin with which he is covered from head to foot cannot endure to feed themselves with a flesh so infected as his.

GAMA then taking the word, made the finest encomium in the world on *Xavier*. Him who seems to you so contemptible, said he to him, is of a most noble extraction; fortune gave him great riches, but virtue has made him poor; he has generously renounced his possessions and the honours due to his illustrious birth, to devote himself intirely to the service of the sovereign Lord of heaven and earth. God has given him so great an empire over nature that he can command the winds, appease tempests, cure the sick, raise the

the dead, and foretel things to come with as much certainty as if he saw them with his own eyes: of this the king can convince himself if he will do him the honour to command him into his presence.

THE gentleman made a faithful report of all that had been said to him, and added, that the *Portuguese* were so enchanted with their Bonze that they esteemed themselves more happy in possessing him than if their vessel was loaded with ingots of gold. The king of *Bungo*, as well to satisfy the curiosity he felt to see a man whom they would have pass for a sort of divinity, as to please the *Portuguese*, sent a prince of the blood-royal to invite him to come before sun-rise and knock at the gate of the palace, where he was expected with impatience.

'Tis impossible to express the joy of the *Portuguese* at having so honourable an ambassador sent them. They assembled themselves to see how *Xavier* would appear at court. All were of opinion that he ought to appear there with the utmost pomp and magnificence. He opposed this sentiment at first, but afterwards submitted to their reasons, which were, that they should not suffer the *Japonefe* to continue in the false belief that the christian religion was a sect of miserable wretches, and that their preachers were vagabonds and begged their bread.

THINGS

THINGS being thus settled, they disposed every thing with all possible diligence for his entry, and set out early the next day with a very fine equipage. Thirty *Portuguese* of note, clad in very rich stuffs, and wearing chains of gold set with precious stones, attended *Xavier*, who had on a cassock of black camblet and a surplice above that, with a stole of green velvet trimmed with gold brocade. The Shallop and the two boats in which they went from the ship to the city, up the river, were covered with the finest *China* tapestry and surrounded with banners of silk of different colours; they had also in each of them trumpets, flutes, and other musical instruments, which sounding together made a very agreeable harmony.

THE report which spread all over *Tuchea* that the great Bonza of *Europe* was coming, drew together so great a crowd upon the river-side, that the *Portuguese* and one of the principal lords of the court attending there by order of the king, had some difficulty to land.

THEY marched thro' the chief streets of the city with the sound of flutes and hautboys, followed by an infinite number of people.

IN the place before the palace of the king they found the captain of the guards, who received *Xavier* at the head of five hundred men under arms; from thence they passed through several halls into the king's anti-chamber;

chamber ; from hence, after great compliments in the manner of the country, on his happy arrival, he was introduced to the audience in a chamber glittering on all sides with gold. The king received him with extraordinary honours, and even allowed him to eat at his table, which is the greatest mark of friendship the kings of *Japan* can bestow on those they esteem.

THESE honours acquired him so much consideration and credit among the people that as soon as he was come to the *Portuguese* lodgings, they came from all parts to hear him : he was not able to baptise all those whom he persuaded to embrace the catholic faith, and scarce found a leisure moment in the night to eat or to take any repose.

THE Bonzes, alarmed at this progress, used all their efforts to stop it ; they endeavoured to alarm the king with the fear of an insurrection among his subjects attached to their gods and pagods, and published the blackest calumnies against *Xavier* to animate the populace against him ; but not being able to succeed this way, they had recourse to one more lawful, and which they believed would infallibly deprive him of his reputation, at least in the opinion of the king. This was, to engage him in a dispute in presence of the whole court with a famous Bonze, named *Fucarandono*, a man consummate in all the
Japo-

Japanese sciences, and who had for thirty years taught the mysteries of *Amida* and *Xaca* in the most celebrated university of the kingdom.

THIS Bonze, accompanied with six others, demanded to speak to the king in the presence of *Xavier*. At the name of *Fucarandono*, the king was confused, and sought for some means to refuse his request.

THIS prince, willing to keep the friendship of the *Portuguese*, whose commerce enriched his kingdom, was afraid of losing their esteem if he permitted their idol *Xavier* to receive a public confusion ; for however high an idea they had given him of his capacity, he did not believe him able to cope with such a powerful adversary. *Xavier*, who perceived the embarrassment of the king, and suspected the cause, intreated him to permit the Bonze to enter that instant, and say whatever he pleased. As for what regards me, my lord, added he, you need give yourself no pain ; all the Bonzes in *Japan*, or all the learned men in the world against the doctrine I preach, would be like the shades of night against the light of the sun.

THE king, re-assured by this confidence, permitted the Bonze to enter. *Fucarandono*, after having paid the usual homage to the king, made *Xavier* great compliments, and being seated opposite to him, I know not, said

said he to him, whether you know me, or to say better, whether you recollect me.

I do not remember, replied *Xavier*, ever to have seen you.

I SEE, said the Bonze, turning to his companions, I shall not find much difficulty in vanquishing a man who has conversed with me more than a hundred times, and yet does not recollect me : then beholding *Xavier* with a contemptuous smile ; Have you now remaining, pursued he, any part of the goods you sold me at the port of *Frenajoma* ? Truly, replied *Xavier*, I never was a merchant in my life, and I never saw *Frenajoma*. You have only forgot it, replied the Bonze.

SINCE you have a better memory than I, said *Xavier*, do me the favour to recal it to my remembrance, and think you speak before the king. I very well know, replied the Bonze, that it is now just fifteen hundred years since you and I, who were merchants, trafficed at *Frenajoma*, and that I bought of you a very good bargain, a hundred pieces of silk, which I sold again for a considerable profit : do you remember it now ? But of what age are you now, demanded *Xavier* ? I am two and fifty years old, said the Bonze. How comes it to pass, said *Xavier*, that you who have been but half a century in the world, should have been a merchant fifteen centuries ago, and how could you and I have trafficed

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at *Prenajoma*, since you Bonzes teach, that *Japan* has not been peopled above six hundred years, and sixteen centuries ago was no more than a desert?

I WILL tell you, replied the Bonze, and you will learn by this that we have more knowledge of past things than you have of present. Know then, that the world never had a beginning, and men, properly speaking, never die; the soul only disingages itself from the body in which it was confined; and whilst this body corrupts in the grave, the soul finds out another body sound and vigorous, in which we are born again, sometimes in the nobler sex, and sometimes in the weaker, according to the different constellations of the heavens, and different aspects of the moon. These changes of our birth cause likewise a change of fortunes. For it is the reward of such as have led a holy life, to have a recent memory of the different lives they have gone through in ages past, and to know themselves entirely the same as they have been from eternity, under the form of a prince, a merchant, a scholar, a warrior, and so under many other figures. On the other hand, whoever, like you, knows so little of himself, as to be ignorant of what he has been, and what he has done during the course of infinite ages, plainly shews that his crimes have rendered him worthy of death,

74, THE HISTORY OF

as often as he has lost the remembrance of the different lives thro' which he has past.

XAVIER had no difficulty in refuting these reveries; and *Fucarandono*, not able to defend them, changed the subject, and advanced propositions so execrable that *Xavier* could not hear them without trembling. These turned upon that abominable passion which drew upon *Sodom* and *Gomorrab* fire from heaven, which consumed those impious cities. *Fucarandono* maintained with the utmost impudence, that this passion which was very common in *Japan*, had nothing criminal in it. But *Xavier* proved by such strong arguments that this infamous passion was a disgrace to humanity, the plague of society, and the horror of nature, that the king and lords of his court concluded with him, they could not too much detest so horrible a vice. The Bonze, confused, and having nothing reasonable to reply, had recourse to reproaches, and was so furiously transported with passion, that the king made him be turned out of the hall, swearing, that if the sacred character of Bonze had not protected him he would have cut off his head.

FUCARANDONO, ashamed of his defeat, was willing to have his revenge; but the king would not grant him permission to enter the lists against *Xavier*, but upon certain conditions which were to be observed both

by the one and the other ; the principal of which were, that they should banish from their discourse all transports of anger and reproachful expressions ; that the approbation of the hearers should decide the victory which should be given to that side that had most votes. The Bonze exclaimed against this last article, maintaining, as had been done some years before in *Europe*, that it was a thing strange and unheard of, that in matters of religion the Laicks should be judges. The king not being willing to recede from this point, they were obliged to submit to his pleasure. They pitched upon the following morning for the dispute, and some lords of the court were chose for judges.

FUCARANDONO appeared at the appointed hour before the palace, escorted by three thousand Bonzes ; but the king, who apprehended some disorder, would not permit more than four to enter, alleging that it would not be honourable for so many persons to appear against one single man.

XAVIER, whom he had caused to be advertised of it, came at the same time, attended by the principal *Portuguese* magnificently cloathed, who served him as his officers, paying him all imaginable respect, following him bare-headed, and speaking to him kneeling. The king received him with the most gracious air imaginable ; and after

76 THE HISTORY OF

having commanded silence, demanded of *Fucarandono*, why the law which *Xavier* came to preach in *Japan*, might not be received?

BECAUSE, replied the Bonze, it is a new law, the precepts of which forbid all those things which the doctors of the past ages have permitted, and which teaches, that it alone conducts men to salvation, but above all, because it dares say, that our gods, *Amida*, *Xaca*, *Gison* and *Canon*, are in a dark, smoaky cavern, condemned to eternal pains, and delivered up a prey to the dragon of the house of night.

THE Bonze held his tongue after these words; and *Xavier*, to whom the king made a sign to reply, said at first, that as *Fucarandono* had joined several things together in what he had advanced, he thought it better, to avoid difficulties, to fix upon one proposition, and not to quit it till they had examined whether it was true or false. This method was approved, and *Fucarandono*, conforming himself to it, began by asking him, why he spoke ill of the gods of the country? The name of God, replied *Xavier*, I give only to the Sovereign Lord, who out of nothing created heaven and earth. *Amida*, *Xaca*, *Gison* and *Canon*, who were once men, and subject to all the laws of nature, are unworthy of so great a name. This name, which belongs only to a being, infinite, eternal,

nal, and independent, who subsists of himself alone, it is blasphemy to give to any creature.

ALL the assembly applauded this answer; and *Fucarandono* following the laws of the dispute, asked *Xavier*, why he disapproved of the letters of exchange which the Bonzes give in favour of the dead, since these letters being discharged with usury in the other world, they were by these means put in a condition of living agreeably; whereas, if they were deprived of such assistance they would have much to suffer?

To this, *Xavier* replied, that he thought it very unjust to admit a practice which put above three parts of human kind under the impossibility of becoming happy in another life, since if they could only acquire it by money, all the poor must be excluded. The religion which I preach, added he, is disinterested and equitable; it is no less favourable to the poor than the rich; it furnishes equally to the one and the other the means of being happy in the other world, and these are good works, and not money.

HAPPILY for *Xavier*, *Fucarandono* was ignorant of the catholic doctrine touching the state of souls after death, and the manner of assisting them in the other world: for if he had known what the western Bonzes teach, that souls separated from the body are pre-

cipitated into a subterraneous place where they suffer torments, to which the greatest punishments inflicted on criminals in this life are not to be compared, and which are relieved by indulgences the pope grants to those who pay for them, and by prayers and masses which the priests and monks will not say gratis. If he had been instructed in this mercenary practice, nothing would have been more easy than to have retorted this reasoning upon his adversary, but as it was intirely unknown to him, he found himself reduced to a shameful silence.

THE dispute being put off till the next day, *Fucarandono* brought six other Bonzes with him of great learning, and chose them out of all the sects, that each might defend his own against *Xavier*.

THEY put questions to him that appeared so much above the comprehension of human understanding, that he took it to be the devil who put them to him by their mouth. I intreat you, says he to the *Portuguese* that accompanied him, to assist me with your prayers; for I assure you, I stand in great need of them. It is not with these Bonzes that you see I have to do, but with the devil that possesses them, and whose organs he makes use of.

ONE of the Bonzes, or according to *Xavier*, the devil by his mouth, proposed this
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difficulty. Either God foresaw, that Lucifer and his accomplices would revolt, and be eternally damned, or he did not foresee it. If he did not, his intellectual powers do not extend so far as you give out : But if he foresaw it, where is his goodness not to have hindered the revolt and damnation of those who have, according to you, been the source of all the evils that have befallen mankind ? So that you are obliged, concluded he, to acknowledge either ignorance, or malice in your God.

XAVIER was so astonished to see a Bonze reason like a school-divine, that turning to *Gema*, that stood just by him : See, (speaking to him with a low voice in the *Portuguese* language, so as not to be understood by the *Japonese*,) see how subtil the devil renders the understanding of these ministers !

ANOTHER Bonze, seconding the attack, spoke according to the same principles : If God knew that *Adam* would sin, and precipitate with himself all mankind into an abyss of misery, why did he create him ? at least, when this our first parent was ready to eat the forbidden fruit, why did not the Almighty Hand that gave him existence, annihilate him at the same time ?

A THIRD Bonze, taking up the discourse, pressed *Xavier* in another place. If our mi-

fery is as ancient as the world, said he, why hath God let so many ages pass without remedying it? Why did not he come down from heaven to be incarnate and redeem mankind by his death, as soon as man became guilty? Wherein have the first race of men been guilty, to have rendered themselves unworthy of such a favour? and what has been the merit of their descendants to have been treated in a more favourable manner?

Fernand Mendez Pinto, who reports these subtil objections, has passed over in silence the replies which *Xavier* made to them; and is contented with telling us in general, that except the Bonzes, all the audience were fully satisfied.

HOWEVER that may be, the king, tired with so long a dispute, broke it off abruptly by saying, that as much as he was capable of judging, the advantage was on the side of the *Portuguese* Bonze; then rising, and taking *Xavier* by the hand, he conducted him to his own lodgings in the presence of the Bonzes, who trembled with rage, and loaded the king with a thousand imprecations.

Thus ended these disputes without any success. The king and the lords of his court continued faithful to *Amida* and *Xaca*, and *Xavier* brought away nothing but vain
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applauses, which interest obliged them to bestow on him.

THE next day, being the twentieth of November, in the year 1551, *Xavier*, after having taken leave of the king, went on board *Gama's* vessel, and left *Japan* the same day, where he had been two years and four months.

THE ship was exposed to a violent tempest, but it carried the *Alexander* of spiritual chivalry, and arrived happily at the isle of *Sancian*. *Xavier* found in this port the *Holy Cross*, ready to sail for *Malaca*; and as he was willing, before he went to *China*, to return to the *Indies* to settle the affairs of the company, he went on board this vessel, which belonged to *Jacques Pereyra*, a rich merchant, and his particular friend.

THE conversation they had together during the voyage, turned upon the spiritual conquest of *China*. *Pereyra*, who under the habit of a merchant, had the heart of a true spiritual *Paladin*, approved this enterprise greatly; but the *Portuguese* who were in the vessel, treated it as altogether chimerical. How, said they, do you propose to enter *China*? Are you ignorant that the entrance is forbid to strangers upon pain of death, or a perpetual prison? They added, that it would be impossible to enter this kingdom without sending a solemn embassy to the em-

peror, in the name of *John III.* but that this embassy would cost a great deal, if they considered what presents they would be obliged to make the king and his ministers, and there was no hope that the viceroy of the *Indies* would be willing to load himself with the expence of such an enterprize, at a time when he found it difficult to support the most pressing affairs. These difficulties began to embarrass *Xavier*, when *Percyra* offered his ship and all his goods for the success of the expedient they proposed. *Xavier* accepted these generous offers with a transport of joy, and engaged himself on his side to obtain of the viceroy the embassy to *China* for his friend.

MEAN time there arose all of a sudden one of those terrible whirlwinds they call Typhons, to which these seas are subject, and which sinks a ship in an instant. All the crew believing that frightful moment was at hand when they should be buried alive in the abysses of the sea, implored the assistance of *Xavier*, who no sooner gave his benediction to the vessel than a perfect calm succeeded to the tempest. The rest of the voyage was happy, and more serene weather was never seen. *Xavier's* first care on his arrival at *Malaca*, was to visit the old governor *Don Pedro de Sylva*, and the new one *Don Alvaro d'Alina*; he communicated to him his project

ject concerning the embassy to *Cbina*, and both the one and the other found it equally advantageous to the crown of *Portugal* and the holy see. *Pereyra*, encouraged by their approbation, furnished thirty thousand crowns to make preparations for this enterprize; and being obliged to go to *Goa* to unload the merchandizes at *Sunda*, he took leave of *Xavier* who embarked for *Cochin*, where he arrived the twenty-fourth of *January*, in the year 1552. In this city he found the king of the *Maldives*, a Mahometan prince, whom the revolt of his subjects had obliged to abandon his kingdom; he finished the persuading him to embrace christianity, and afterwards, embarked for *Goa*, where he arrived the beginning of *February*.

THE subjects of the *Ignatian* monarchy, whom he had dispersed about before his departure, at his return he found all re-united. They recounted to each other reciprocally the great things they had done; he in *Japan*, they in all the *Indies*; but nothing gave him more satisfaction than to find there were now no idol priests in *Goa*. The governor had banished them from thence at the solicitation of an *Ignatian* of the college of *St. Paul*, with a prohibition, at the same time to the infidels, under pain of rigorous punishments, to make any public act of their religion, in
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all the district of this capitol of the *Portuguese Indies*.

THO' such a decree was a manifest violation of the liberty of conscience granted to the inhabitants, by the capitulation which *Alphonso d' Albuquerque* made with them when they delivered up the city by composition in 1510, nevertheless *Xavier* was greatly rejoiced at it, for the advantage it brought to the catholic church.

He had often wished to see a holy inquisition exercised upon the Jews at *Goa*; those salutary barbarities which they so mercifully practised at *Lisbon* upon those of that unfortunate nation, whom they found guilty of the crime of having observed the law of God given to their fathers by the ministry of *Moses*; but he consoled himself with the hope that *John III.* would grant him this favour, which he demanded in the year 1545.

He understood also with much satisfaction, that this prince being informed by his ministers who were at *Goa*, of the miracles the company performed there, was desirous of filling the East with *Ignatians*: that for this effect he entertained a design of founding a great many new colleges for them, till which he had ordered that all the seminaries established in the *Indies* should be put into their hands,

hands, and that they should defray the expence of all their voyages, in order to lay upon them the obligation he was under of bringing the infidels to pay obedience to the pope, according to the old conventions made with the holy see when the crown of *Portugal* obtained that conquest of the east. There remained nothing more to give *Xavier* perfect contentment, than to obtain of the vice-roy *Don Alphonso Noragno* the embassy to *China* for *James Pereyra*; and this was granted without the least difficulty.

BUT among so many subjects of satisfaction, he had the mortification to hear that, during his absence, *Gomez*, in contempt of *Camerin's* authority, had busied himself in establishing new laws, and changing the domestic discipline, and in regulating the studies of the scholars upon the same plan with those of the university of *Paris*, where he had studied in his youth. Altho' *Gomez* was a great philosopher, divine and canonist, an excellent preacher, perfectly well skilled in the management of affairs, full of zeal and good intentions, and had always at heart the interest of the company, yet *Xavier* banished him the society for his disobedience; all the favour he would grant him was, not to strip him of the habit at *Goa*; he therefore sent him to the fortress of *Dion*, and ordered the

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Ignatians who were there to give him his dismission, and persuaded him to return to *Portugal* by the first ship which sailed from thence: this was performed, and the unfortunate *Gomez* embarked in a vessel that was shipwrecked in the midst of the sea and perished miserably.

AFTER this terrible act of severity, *Xavier* applied himself wholly to the affairs of the company, and having regulated them he established *Gasper Barzee*, vice-provincial in the *Indies*, and commanded all the *Ignatians* dispersed in the new world from the cape of *Good Hope* to *Malaca*, the *Moluques*, and *Japan*, to obey him; he set it down as a rule to himself, to banish from the company, whatever excellent qualities they possessed, all those who undertook any thing against his authority, or did not blindly follow his orders.

HE then chose for the companions of his voyage, *Balthazer Gago*, *Edward Sylva*, *Peter Alcaceva*, *Francis Gonsalez*, *Alvarez Feneira de Mont-Major*, and a young *Chinese* secular who had been bred in the seminary at *Goa*; some of these were destined for *Japan*, the others for *China*.

IGNATIUS had wrote to *Xavier*, that it was absolutely necessary to send into *Europe* an able man of the company, well instructed in the affairs of the *Indies*, to inform the
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pope and the king of *Portugal* of the conquests they had made in the east, in order to procure assistance from them which might enable them to make new ones. *Xavier*, to whom the same thought had occurred, deputed to *Lisbon* and *Rome*, *Andrew Fernandez*, a man very capable of exaggerating the services of the company, besides instructing them thoroughly in the state of the *Indies*. *Xavier* wrote very ample letters upon this subject to the king of *Portugal*, to *Rodriguez* and *Ignatius*; and as he was then ready to set sail for *Cbina*, he informed *John III.* of his departure, in these words.

I INTEND to leave *Goa* in five days to sail for *Malaca*, from whence I shall go to *Cbina* with *James Percyra*, who is named ambassador; we take with us rich presents which *Pereyra* bought, part with your money, part with his own. Our design is to break the chains of the *Portuguese* captives, to cultivate the friendship of the *Cbinese* in favour of the crown of *Portugal*, and above all to make war against *Demons* and all their partizans. The enterprize may seem hard, but what encourages is, that God himself inspired us with the design.

He set out the twelfth of *April* 1552, and approaching the city of *Malaca*, he saw like another *Apolonius*, the plague enter this city. When the mortality was quite abated, he began to treat with the
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governor *Don Alvaro d'Alina* concerning the embassy to *Cbina*, who had approved of it the first time it was mentioned to him. *Don Alvaro* at first gave him good words; but displeased with *Pereyra*, who had not been willing to lend him ten thousand crowns the year before, and not enduring a merchant should be named ambassador to so great a monarch, he secretly opposed this enterprise.

XAVIER employed all imaginable means to gain him, and grieved at not being able to move him, either by a promise of a present of thirty thousand crowns, or by menaces of ecclesiastic punishments, he ordered at last, by virtue of his character of legate of the holy see, the grand vicar of *Malaca* to publish a sentence of excommunication against him.

THESE thunders terrified *Don Alvaro* so little, that as soon as they were issued, he made himself master of the *Holy Cross*, their vessel, and manning it with five and twenty sailors, and setting a commander over them, he sent them to traffic at *Sancian*, a little isle in the *Cbinese* seas.

ALTHO' the embassy, which was to favour the entry into *Cbina* was prevented, yet *Xavier* would not abandon his enterprise; he thought upon another method of executing it; this was, to steal secretly into the kingdom.

dom. If I am discovered and put into prison, said he, I will preach the faith to the prisoners, it will spread into the city and reach the court ; the lords of the empire, and even the king will have a curiosity to see a man who preaches a doctrine so new, and then I shall have an opportunity of explaining it to them.

FULL of these chimerical ideas, he embarked in the *Holy Cross*, sent by Don *Alvaro* to *Sancian* ; but because they could not make an entry into *China* by the way he proposed without running great dangers, he took with him a friar of the company, the *Chinese* of whom we have spoke, and a young *Indian* ; he sent to *Japan* *Xago Sylva*, and *Alcaceva* ; the first for the kingdom of *Bungo*, and the two others for *Amanguchi*. There were on board the *Holy Cross* above an hundred men, and they were pretty far advanced on their voyage, when the sea was becalmed so much that the vessel continued as immoveable as if it was at anchor. During this calm which lasted forty days, their water failed ; some among them died of thirst, and they must all have perished if *Xavier* had not by the sign of the cross changed the salt water of the sea into sweet water, and this sweet water was not only agreeable to the taste, but it was also a specific, and able to cure all sorts of distempers, two or three draughts being
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sufficient to restore health to those who were sick.

THIS miracle, and another which he performed in the same vessel upon a Mahometan passenger's only son, who having fallen into the sea, was found six days afterwards upon the deck alive and perfectly in health, induced the *Arabian* Sanratins, who were going to *China*, and the Mahometan and his family to demand to be baptised.

THE ship's people publishing these miracles in an island named *Cincheo*, which they stoped at, sixty persons, some *Ethiopians*, others *Indians*, all either idolaters or Mahometans, came to the ship to see so extraordinary a man. *Xavier* preached a sermon to them, at the end of which they were all baptised.

WHILE the ceremony lasted he appeared of a gigantic stature; but as soon as he had finished baptising he became of his usual height, which was a little above the mediocrity. In fine, after a voyage of twenty-three days, he arrived at *Sancian*, where he performed miracles worthy of being placed with those of the Golden Legend.

PETER VEGLIO, a rich merchant, and very charitable, having given him the key of his casket, with permission to take out whatever sum he pleased, he took from thence three hundred crowns of gold, to marry a poor girl,

girl, who was young and handsome, and in danger of being ruined. *Veglio* afterwards counting the money in the casket, found forty-five thousand gold crowns which had been there before, without missing one single crown.

THIS was not the only miracle he performed at *Sancian*, besides an infinite number of predictions; he raised an infant from the dead, and cleared the country of the tygers which desolated it. These ferocious beasts came out of the woods in troops, and devoured not only the children but even the men who ventured too far from the fortification they had made to defend themselves from them. *Xavier*, one night presented himself before them, and throwing holy water upon them, commanded them to retire and never to return again. They obeyed, and from that time no more tygers were seen in that island.

THE joy the *Portuguese* felt at possessing a man so extraordinary, was changed into sorrow when they understood he had only come to *Sancian* in order to pass into *China*. They endeavoured to make him alter this design by representing to him the rigorous laws of the *Chinese* against strangers, and the cruelties they exercised upon them. The best that you can expect, said they to him, is a perpetual prison, and it is not that which a hero

hero ought to seek who proposes to himself the conquest of all the east. I am called to this high enterprise, replied he, by a celestial vocation, and if I doubted of the success of it, and if intimidated with difficulties I should fail in courage, would not that be something worse than all the evils they threaten me? In fine, my resolution is taken; I will go to *Cbina*, and nothing is able to make me change this design, tho' all the devils and their imps opposed me I should brave their rage; when heaven is for me what can I have to fear from hell. But not finding any sailors bold enough to carry him to *Cbina*, a *Chinese* merchant was willing to hazard the danger, provided he would pay him well. *Xavier* made an agreement with him, and obtained of his friends the sum the *Chinese* required for carrying him to *Canton*. As soon as he prepared himself to go, the *Portuguese* who were at *Sancian* fearing his zeal would ruin their affairs, and put their lives in danger, conjured him to have pity on them, their wives, and children, tho' he had none for himself. Touched with their tears, he engaged his word to them that he would not go to *Cbina* till they had terminated all their affairs, and departed from *Sancian*.

In the mean time he was seized with a violent fever, and the *Portuguese* took occasion from this accident to tell him, that hea-

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ven declared itself against his voyage to *China*; but recovering in five days, he pursued his design with more ardor than ever.

ALL the *Portuguese* ships having set sail for the *Indies*, except the *Holy Cross*, which was not compleatly loaded, *Xavier*, after their departure was reduced to such a want of all things that it was with difficulty he found wherewithal to live. The fever returning on the 20th of *November*, he retired into the *Holy Cross*, which was the common hospital for the sick.

As the agitation of the vessel gave him great pains in his head, he intreated the captain the following day to set him again upon land. They left him on the shore exposed to the injuries of the weather, at a time when the north wind was very piercing, and he would have died without any assistance, if a *Portuguese* more charitable than the rest had not taken him into his cabin.

THE sick man complaining of a pain in his side, that he was very aguish, and felt a very great oppression about his heart, made the chirurgion of the ship let him blood, which he did so ill that his nerves were affected, and he fell into faintings and convulsions; they bled him a second time, and this second bleeding was attended with the same accidents as the first. His illness increasing till the twenty-eighth of *November*, the fever
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94 THE HISTORY OF

flew into his head and caused a frenzy in his brain, during which he raved of *Cbina*, and talked of nothing but the battles he was to give the bonzes.

AT last he died in this delirium the 2d of *December*, in the year 1552, aged forty-six years, ten and a half of which he had spent in the *Indies*.

AFTER his death the company made an astonishing progress in *Japan*. Reasons of interest were the principal cause of the facility they found in making proselytes and establishing themselves there. For the *Portuguese* were very well received, and the kings of this empire being very desirous to draw them into their dominions because they made commerce flourish among them, granted all sorts of privileges both for them and their religion.

THE *Ignatians*, who were permitted to preach publickly, having reduced an infinite number of *Japonefe* to the obedience of the holy see, subdued at length the kings of *Bungo*, *Arima* and *Imura*, whom they persuaded to send an embassy of obedience to *Gregory XIII*.

THIS embassy arrived at *Rome* in the year 1585, and was received with an extraordinary solemnity, pomp and magnificence. The ambassadors presented his holiness their letters, which were inscribed, "To him who holds the place of God upon earth." *Gregory*

gory caressed them greatly, and dying soon after he had given them audience, *Sixtus V.*, who succeeded him, caressed them still more.

CHRISTIANITY was so much advanced in *Japan*, that the emperor, uneasy at having above two hundred thousand christians in his empire, in the year 1586, forbid all his subjects under pain of death to embrace the religion of *Europe*, and six years after, interdicted all the christian churches; but the profelytes of the *Ignatians*, confiding in their numbers, notwithstanding this prohibition, continued their exercises, and by that means drew upon themselves a cruel persecution, which after having spilt a deluge of blood during half an age, put an end to them at last by a general massacre, of which the discovery of a conspiracy was the cause.

THIS conspiracy, contrived by the *Portuguese* and *Japonese* christians, at the instigation of the *Ignatians*, tended to change the government of the empire, and set a catholic prince upon the imperial throne. The *Portuguese* engaged themselves to provide vessels and ammunitions of war, and the *Japonese* to take up arms.

POPE *Gregory XV.* having approved and blest this enterprize, it was far advanced when the *Dutch*, rivals and enemies to the *Portuguese*, who were then under the dominion of *Spain*, and at war with the *States-General*

General of the United Provinces, took a *Portuguese* vessel near the Cape of *Good Hope*, in which they found letters from some *Japoneſe* chriſtians to *Europe*, requiring them to put the laſt hand to the treaty. Theſe letters the *Dutch* ſent to *Meaco*, which enraged the emperor ſo much againſt the chriſtians, that regarding them as traitors, he reſolved immediately to exterminate them, to put his crown and life in ſafety. He began by burning the perfidious *Japoneſe* alive, and in the year 1587, published an edict, by which he baniſhed all the *Portugueſe* from his dominions, and forbid any ſtrangers to enter them under pain of crucifixion.

THE *Portugueſe* endeavoured to make this conſpiracy paſs for a chimera, forged by their enemies to ruin them, and ſet all their wits to work to prevail upon the emperor to revoke his edict: but this monarch was inexorable, and obliged them to quit *Japan*. As ſoon as they were gone he wholly applied himſelf to the utter extirpation of chriſtianity.

THE *Japoneſe* chriſtians, reduced to the laſt deſpair, revolted, and formed an army of forty thouſand men, which became more numerous every day; animated with a zeal for religion which inſpired the moſt cowardly among them with courage, becauſe they perſuaded themſelves heaven fought for them, they ſuſtained for ſome time all the forces of
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the empire, but at length overpowered by numbers, they retired into the castle of *Simbara*, situated on the coasts of *Arima*, resolved to defend their lives till the last drop of blood remained. They were here besieged by the emperor's forces, and with the assistance of the cannon in the *Dutch* vessels they made so terrible a fire against the place that it was soon reduced to ashes, with all those who defended it; after which they massacred without pity all the christians dispersed in every part of the empire.

THIS cruel massacre was perpetrated the 12th of *April*, 1588, and on that day three hundred and seventy thousand christians were murdered. Thus the *Ignatians* in one single day lost the fruits of near a hundred years labour, and were for ever excluded from *Japan*, which they were upon the point of reducing entirely to the obedience of the holy see. This sad reverse of fortune caused the greater sorrow among them as the loss they had suffered was irreparable.

THE company was more happy at *China*, which they entered in the year 1581, twenty-nine years after the death of the great *Xavier*, who expired at the very gates of this empire; to the conquest of which he believed himself called by a divine inspiration. Three *Italians*, *Michael Rugeri*, *Francis Passio*, and *Matthew Ricci*, were the knights which *Alex-*

98 THE HISTORY OF

under Valingan, visitor of the company in the *Indies* chose to put an end to this perilous adventure, which *Xavier* had attempted in vain.

THESE three *Paladins*, after a thousand fatigues and hardships, which they bore with an immoveable constancy, penetrated in the year 1583, into the heart of *Cbina*, and into places which till then were inaccessible to strangers; they laid the first foundations of the *Ignatian* mission under the jurisdiction of the bishop of *Macao*, to which diocese *Gregory XIII.* at the request of the king of *Portugal*, had annexed all the lands and isles to be conquered in the kingdom of *Cbina*.

AMONG the *Cbinese* there were three principal sects; that of the Magicians, that of the Idolaters, and that of the Learned.

THE fundamental maxim of the first is, that law or reason produced one, that one produced two, that two produced three, and three produced all things: that the Sovereign God is corporeal, and that he governs the other divinities as a king governs his subjects.

THOSE who make profession of this sect pay divine honours to the philosopher *Lao-kium*, who is the author of it; and give the same worship not only to many emperors who have been ranked with the gods, but also to certain spirits under the name of *Xamti*, who preside over every element. They

They call this sect that of the Magicians, because the learned of it addict themselves to magic, and are believed to have the secret of making men immortal.

THE sect of the Idolaters adore *Foe*, who became a god at the age of thirty years, of whom they recount great miracles; he died in his seventy-ninth year, and at his death declared to his disciples that he had concealed the truth under parables and figurative expressions, but that being ready to quit the world he was willing to unfold the secret of his doctrine.

KNOW then, said he to them, that you must not look for the beginning of all things, but from nothing and a void; for from nothing every thing has proceeded, and unto nothing shall every thing return; and this, added he, is the end of all our hopes.

THE doctors of this sect, faithful observers of the conduct and principles of their master, teach, like him, a double law, the one external, the other internal. According to the external law, they say, that all the good are recompensed, and the wicked punished, in places destined for each; that *Foe* is the god who saves men and expiates their crimes, and who gives a new life in the other world to those who have served him in this. They enjoin all works of mercy, and forbid cheating, impurity, wine, lying, and murder,

100 THE HISTORY OF

and even the taking life from any creature whatever.

ACCORDING to the internal law, the Void is the principle of all things; it is sovereignly perfect and easy, without beginning, without end, without motion, knowledge or desires. Those who would be happy must become like this principle, in subduing and suppressing all their passions, so that insensible to all things, and plunged in the highest apathy, without reflection or any use of their reason, they enjoy a perfect tranquility.

As soon as they have gained this divine repose, they are allowed to teach the common doctrine to others, and practise themselves the interior. Such is the mystery of this sect, which in the bottom teaches a pure, unmixed atheism, that admits neither rewards nor punishments after death, believes not in a providence or the immortality of the soul, acknowledges no other God but the Void or nothing, and which makes the supreme happiness of mankind to consist in a total inaction, an intire insensibility, and a perfect quietude.

THE sect of the Learned is the most celebrated, tho' it is less numerous. 'Tis properly a sect which acknowledges the philosopher *Confucius* for its master, who lived five hundred years before our Saviour.

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THEY have this in common with the disciples of *Foe* ; that they have two sorts of doctrines ; the one secret, for the men of wit, which they believe true ; the other public, for the vulgar, which they think false.

ACCORDING to their secret doctrine, they are Materialists ; they acknowledge no other divinity than universal nature, which they say, is a most pure and perfect principle, that has neither beginning nor end, is the source of all things and the essence of every being ; what constitutes the true difference is, that they admit a certain soul of the world spread all over matter, and subsisting eternally with it, which modifies and ranges it in that beautiful order which we admire. They also hold, that the soul of man is nothing else but the most subtil part of that matter, to which it resolves again when they die ; then the aerial part separates from the terrestrial ; the first ascends, and the last returns below.

ACCORDING to their public doctrine, they are idolaters, and speak and act as the common people. They conform themselves outwardly to the religion established by the laws of the empire ; they adore heaven, which in the *Chinese* language is called *Tien*, and a sovereign emperor named *Xamty*, or *Chamty* ; they offer sacrifices to the spirits of rivers, mountains, cities, and the dead : but this

heaven and this emperor they adore with a worship due only to the Deity, are no other, according to their secret doctrine, than the material heavens and its influences, by which all things are produced. Under the name of spirits they do not understand immaterial substances, but substances like the places which they occupy and the things under whose forms they are represented; they acknowledge nothing but what is material; and that to which they give the name of spirit, is the active power of corporeal things; such as are the influences of the heavens, the sun, the moon, and that power by which the earth produces its effects.

THE people, on the contrary, for whom these spirits have been introduced, in order to hold them in subjection, firmly believe that they are capable of doing good and evil to mankind, according as they live well or ill; it is under this notion that policy shews them, and it is by this artifice that she retains the people in their duty. It is with the same view that the Learned say in public, that the heavens ought to be adored, and sacrifices offered to the sovereign emperor, and that they themselves sacrifice to spirits like common people; but within themselves they ridicule this worship and refer it all to nature.

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THE *Cbinese* having extraordinary veneration for *Confucius*, the men of letters who pique themselves on being his disciples, have built him temples and erected him altars ; they offer him sacrifices with great pomp and ceremony ; they make profound reverences at pronouncing his name ; address him in prayers, and supplicate him to receive their offerings. Some amongst them, on certain days, solemnise feasts in honour to him, with rites which very much resemble those performed by the deacons, sub-deacons and master of the ceremonies in the celebration of a high mass.

THE *Cbinese* also honour their dead ancestors, and have certain places in their houses destined for the images which represent their ancestors, and pictures of them on which their names are inscribed ; they burn perfumes before these images, bow before these pictures, and invoke their ancestors as capable of bestowing upon them all sorts of temporal blessings

THESE different worships extremely shocked *Rugeri Passio* and *Ricci* ; they appeared to them as incompatible with the christian religion, as light is with darkness ; but as by the laws of the empire these religious ceremonies were an indispensable obligation, they must either permit the practice of them to the *Cbinese*, who embrace christianity, or else

resolve to renounce the spiritual conquest of *China*.

THE embarrassment was great ; yet great as it was *Ricci* did not despair of finding expedients, out of which he might draw some advantage to the company ; he studied above ten years the language and learning of the *Chinese*, and read the books of the wise men of this nation with an ardent desire to find some conformity in them to christianity. Reading them in this disposition, he easily persuaded himself that *Xamti*, of whom the Learned spoke, signified the king of heaven, and that *Confucius*, by that, understood the true God ; that these words, *Kim Tien*, adore heaven, signified the same thing with *Kim Tien Chu*, adore the Lord of heaven ; that the *Chinese*, in paying to *Confucius* and the images of their deceased ancestors that worship which they expressed by the word *Ci*, had no other design than to declare their gratitude for the benefits they had received from them ; that they regarded them neither as gods nor saints, but considered one in the quality of master and legislator, and the others as ancestors from whom they had their life, to whom in gratitude they were obliged to pay the marks of respect and filial obedience ; that what they called temples were in reality only halls, and their sacrifices nothing else but feasts : in fine, that
those

hose who killed animals upon this occasion were not considered as sacrificers, but simple butchers who had no character of priesthood. He concluded then, that this worship thus explained, contained no idolatry, and that, as well for the interest of religion as that of the company, they ought to permit this practice of it.

THESE difficulties being smoothed in this manner, *Ricci* and the new companions they had sent to him, sowed in all places the seed of the catholic doctrine. They at first took the habit of the ecclesiastics of the country, believing the *Chinese* would respect it as much as the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* that of their monks; but observing that this nation ranked their bonzes with the vilest among the populace, they quitted a profession so much decried, and took with the title of learned the habit of this sect, which was the most esteemed in *China*.

CLOTHED in this venerable habit; which gained entrance every where, they introduced themselves to the first ministers of the empire by presents of pictures, mirrors, perspective-glasses, harpsicords, pendulums, watches, and other works of that nature. These curiosities which this people, who had never seen the like, took for wonders, made these doctors who came from the west, pass for extraordinary men, and procured them the

protection of the magistrates, governors, and principal mandarins.

By means of such presents, *Ricci* obtained permission of the emperor to make an establishment at *Pekin*, the capital and seat of the empire. *Julius Aleni* taught this monarch mathematics, by which means he insinuated himself into his affections. *John Adam Schall*, *Martin Martini*, *Francis Figuero*, and many others who came successively to the court, rendered themselves so agreeable, some by their knowledge in astronomy, and others by their ingenuity in making canons, bombs, carcasses, petards, and such other murdering machines, that they were raised to the first order of mandarins, and on their account, their brethren were permitted to remain in all the provinces of the empire, notwithstanding the laws which forbid them to preach in public the religion of *Europe*.

AFTER the death of *Ricci*, which happened in the year 1610, *Nicolas Langobardi* became chief of the *Ignatians* in *China*; he had had great scruples concerning the *Chinese* ceremonies, which he dissembled thro' respect for his superior; but a letter he received from the visitor of *Japan*, which warned him not to take the *Chinese* philosophers king of heaven for the true God, having awaked all his former doubts, he desired the *Ignatians* under his authority, who were of different sentiments

timents upon this subject, to give him their thoughts in writing. Two of them were of opinion that the *Chinese* had known the true God; and two others strongly maintained the contrary. *Langerberdi* took part with the last, and wrote a treatise in which he proved the sect of the Literati atheists.

THE *Ignatians*, struck with his reasons, held an assembly in the year 1628, at *Kia-sing*, a city in the province of *Nanquin*, in which they examined if the honours they paid to *Confucius* were religious honours, or only civil and political. It was agreed that these honours were true sacrifices, and that if *Chinese* converts continued in this practice, it was the same thing as if the Mahometans should reverence Mahomet after having embraced christianity. This assembly condemned the adorations the mandarins paid to the idol *Chinboam*, when they took possession of their employments, and it was resolved absolutely to oblige the christian mandarins to abstain from a worship which could not be considered as any thing but idolatry.

FRANCIS HUNTADO, who succeeded to *Langerberdi*, adopted sentiments quite opposite to his predecessor. The desire of multiplying the conquests induced him to prefer those of *Ricci*; and to put an end to all scruples, he cast into the fire *Langerberdi's* book. After that the *Ignatians* made no difficulty to permit

permit their converts to give *Confucius* and their ancestors the usual honours, and even to prostrate themselves before the idol *Cbin-boam*, by ordering them, always to conceal upon this idol's altar a crucifix, and mentally to pay to it all the exterior signs of adoration.

IN order to make the christian religion yet more accessible to the *Chinese*, who were too vain to adore a God crucified by the hands of men, they preached our Saviour glorious only, and spake neither of his humiliation, his sufferings, or death.

THEY softened as much the doctrine of the evangelists, in accommodating it to the customs of the country, that it might have nothing too severe in it, to hinder the people from practising its precepts without much violence. By this method they prodigiously augmented the number of their proselytes, and procured a great many solid establishments.

SUCH was the state of their affairs in *Cbina*, when, in 1631 and 1633, some new spiritual *Paladins*, of the orders of *St. Dominique* and *St. Francis*, came from the island of *Hormosa* and the *Philippine* isles, to have part in the spiritual conquest of this vast kingdom. These new missionaries, among which were *John Baptist de Moralez*, a Dominican, and *Antonio de St. Marie*, a Franciscan, who both
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understood the *Chinese* language, having learnt in what manner the *Ignatians* behaved towards their converts, and beheld with their own eyes the ceremonies at which they permitted them to assist, were extremely scandalized at this monstrous assemblage of christianity and idolatry. They could not endure to see the *Ignatians* allow these converts to partake with the same outward respect of a swine, whose throat was cut in honour of *Confucius*, as of the Lamb without blemish, slain and sacrificed from the foundation of the world for the salvation of mankind; nor that genuflexions, oblations and adorations, determined by circumstances to a religious worship, should be looked upon as indifferent ceremonies of civility.

THE *Ignatians* might have plausibly represented to them that the place where that ceremony was performed was not a temple; that the table on which the name of *Confucius* was engraved, was not an altar; that the offerings which they presented to him were not true sacrifices, and that the *Chinese* attributed no divinity to this philosopher: but notwithstanding all these arguments, they were obstinately bent to believe their own eyes; and maintained, that to condemn this worship for idolatry, it was sufficient to see that they addressed the same vows to *Confucius* as to God; and that they honoured him

110 THE HISTORY OF

with all those ceremonies due only to the Deity, and which mankind have instituted to adore him.

FAR then from accommodating themselves to the alleviating method of the *Ignatians*, they practised one directly opposite; they kept no measures with idolatry, but preached boldly that the kings of *Cbina* and *Lao Nium*, *Foe* and *Confucius* were all damned and burning in hell.

A Declaration so harsh and uncivil, raised the *Chinese* against them: they could not endure that strangers who were tolerated but by favour, should thus blaspheme the sovereigns and legislators of the country, whom all the nation revered with a religious worship, and secretly animated by the *Ignatians*, they banished these new preachers from the kingdom.

John Baptist de Moralez, apostolical prefect of the Dominican missionaries at *Cbina*, went to *Rome*, and presented a memorial to the sacred congregation *de fide propaganda*, containing seventeen articles, all concerning the *Chinese* ceremonies, in 1645. It was decided that these ceremonies ought not to be permitted. Pope *Innocent X*, confirmed the decision by a solemn decree, to which the *Ignatians* refused to submit, pretending that a false representation had been made.

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IN 1656, they obtained in their turn from *Alexander VII*, the immediate successor of *Innocent*, a decree, permitting the *Chinese* converts to practise all the ceremonies of their country, which were only to be regarded as a civil and political worship, retrenching however some superfluous things.

AT last, a new decree was given by the congregation of the holy office, on the 13th of *November*, 1669, which was confirmed by pope *Clement IX*. This ordained, that the decree of *Innocent X*, and *Alexander VII*, should each continue in their full force, declaring that the first had been neither revoked nor restrained by the last, and commanding they should both be executed according to their form and tenour. The court of *Rome* had her reasons for thus leaving the matter in suspense, willing to profit by a conquest which paid her homage, she did not care to give discontent to any of the conquerors.

THE *Ignatians* who were the strongest at *China*, gave the preference to the decree of *Alexander VII*, tho' in reality this decree was no less favourable to the *Dominicans*, since it permitted the *Chinese* ceremonies in the supposition that they had nothing of superstition in them.

BOTH parties disputed vigorously on this subject; one maintaining that these ceremonies were full of idolatry; the other, that they

112 The HISTORY OF

they were wholly free from it. These disputes, in which calumnies were not spared on each side, scandalized the *Chinese*, and drew new persecutions upon both the parties, to which the Dominicans and Franciscans were always the sad victims.

THE *Ignatians*, by means of the arts and sciences they introduced, established themselves in the places from whence they were banished; they maintained themselves there by the credit they had at court, and by their complaisance in accommodating themselves to the religious ceremonies of the nation, adapting them with the same prudence as the holy *Roman* church has adapted those of the ancient pagans.

WHILE the company established itself every where, and began even to enter into the kingdoms of *Fez*, *Morocco*, *Congo* and *Brazil*, *France*, which saw its encrease, found it, so pernicious to the church and state, that from the first steps it took towards an establishment there, all the orders of the kingdom opposed its reception.

In the year 1541, which was that of its approbation by *Paul III*, *Ignatius* thinking to introduce it in *France*, sent some of his novices to study at *Paris*; they settled at first in the college of the *Hesloiers*, and afterwards in that of the *Lombards*; but in the year 1542, a war being kindled between *Charles*

V, and *Francis I*, these novices, who were most of them either *Spaniards* or *Italians*, were obliged to leave the kingdom by virtue of a decree which banished from thence all the subjects of the emperor.

PEACE being concluded in 1544, some of these novices were again sent to *Paris*, and *William du Prat*, bishop of *Clermont*, whom *Laines* and *Salmeron* had prejudiced in favour of the new society at the council of *Trent*, lodged them at his own palace of *Clermont*. This prelate declared himself openly their protector; he loaded them with benefits, gave them annual rents for their subsistence, founded two colleges for them, the one at *Bellon*, the other at *Maurillac*, and he bequeathed them in his will, thirty-six thousand crowns.

THEY were at first only in the quality of scholars at *Paris*, buried in the dust of a college, and continued in this obscurity till the year 1550, when by the favour of cardinal *de Lorraine*, to whom the pope had recommended them, they obtained letters patents from *Henry II*, which permitted them with the alms which had been bestowed on them to build a house and a college in *Paris*, and not in any other city, to live in according to their laws. These letters having been presented to the parliament to be registred there, the king's council, to whom they were communicated,

municated, gave their opinion in writing to hinder it and intreated the court to make such remonstrances.

IN 1552, the *Ignatians* received new letters from *Henry II*, which contained repeated commands to the court, to confirm the first, without having any regard to the remonstrances of his procurator-general, who, notwithstanding this new order, persisted in his first declaration.

THE affair being protracted for above two years, the parliament gave at last, on the third of *August*, 1554, an arret, which ordained that before the other was passed, the king's letters and the bulls from *Rome* should be communicated to the bishop of *Paris*, and to the dean of the faculty of theology to give their sentiments upon them to the court.

THE bishop, who was *Eustace de Bellay*, gave his opinion in writing, in which he said, "that these bulls contained things which ought not to be tolerated or received in the christian religion; that those who obtained them arrogating to themselves the title of the company of *Jesus*, which belonged to the universal church of which our Saviour *Jesus* is the head, seemed as if they would constitute that church only in themselves: that making profession to live upon alms, they ought not to be received without first consulting the mendicant orders, and the hospitals

hospitals to which these new comers might prejudice; that in their privileges they had many things contrary to common right, and prejudicial to the authority of the bishops, curates, and universities: that as for the rest, since the principal end they proposed to themselves was to labour to convert the Mahometans, it would be better to give them houses upon the frontiers of *Turky* than in *Paris*, which was at so great a distance from *Constantinople*."

THE faculty of divinity not judging more favourably of the new institution, declared with one voice that this society which assumed to themselves a particular conduct, and an unusual title from the name of Jesus, seemed dangerous to the faith, likely to disturb the peace of the church, and overturn monastic religion, and fitter to destroy than edify.

THIS decree was a terrible blow to the *Ignatians* at *Paris*; *Bruet*, their superior, having sent a copy of it to the general, those whom the *Ignatians* shewed it to at *Rome* were of opinion, that a vigorous refutation ought to be made to it. But his sentiments were different: he thought a reply would only exasperate them more, and that it would be more proper to dissemble till time had softened the hatred which they had conceived in *France* against the company.

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THE *Ignatians* at *Paris* following the example of their general, suffered the affair to rest till the reign of *Francis II*, under which they brought it again on the carpet, because the *Guises*, who favoured them, had then all the credit and authority. It was brought before the king's privy-council; and, to remove the obstacles which the bishop of *Paris* and the *Sorbonne* had raised to the establishment of the society, the *Ignatians*, by the advice of cardinal *de Lorrain*, declared that they consented to renounce all their privileges which contained any thing prejudicial to the authority of the bishops, curates, and universities, and what was contrary to the liberties of the *Gallican* church and to the treaties made between the kings and popes.

THE council having examined the affair, the king, at the instigation of the cardinal of *Lorrain*, summoned the Parliament by letters on the lastday of *October*, 1560, to examine the letters patents without delay, and to confirm the bulls obtained by the priests and scholars of the company of *Jesus*, on condition of those restrictions they offered.

THE eighteenth of *November* following, these letters and bulls were presented to the parliament by the king's council, and registered there, with this clause, which shewed the distrust of the court; That if afterwards they should find any thing prejudicial to the king's

king's rights or the ecclesiastic privileges, it should be provided against.

THREE weeks after this enrollment, *Francis II*, died, and *Charles IX*, his brother, succeeding him, the *Ignatians* found in this young prince a protector as favourable as his predecessor had been. They presented, at the beginning of his reign, a request to the court to be received as religious, or at least to be allowed in the form of a college.

THE court thinking this affair regarded the ecclesiastical tribunal, referred them to the general assembly of the *Gallican* church, which was held at *Paissi*. They accordingly addressed themselves to this celebrated assembly, in which cardinal *de Tournon* presided, who had already given them proofs of his good-will, by permitting them to build a fine college in the city of *Tournon*.

ALTHOUGH in the person of this prelate, and that of the cardinal *de Lorrain*, they had two powerful protectors, yet this assembly would not receive them but with restrictions so humbling, that if they had obliged them to observe them 'tis certain they would not have staid long in *France*; or if they had staid, they would not have been able to occasion any troubles there.

THESE conditions were, that they would admit them not as a religious order, but merely as a society or college; that they should

118 THE HISTORY OF

should take another name than that of the company of Jesus or Jesuits ; that the diocesan bishop should have the same jurisdiction over them as over other priests in his diocese ; that they should do nothing to the prejudice of the bishops, curates, universities, colleges, and other religious orders ; that they should be governed according to common law, and have no other jurisdiction ; that they should renounce all privileges contrary to these conditions ; and lastly, that if they failed to fulfil them exactly, or, if afterwards they obtained any new immunities, the approbation of their society would immediately be looked upon as revoked.

THE *Ignatians* having got this act of parliament registered, quitted the palace of *Clermont* and settled in a house in *St. James's-street*, called the *Hotel de Langres*, which they finished with the legacy *William du Prat* had bequeathed them ; and because they had been called the scholars and priests of *Clermont*, this name continued to them in their new house.

As they could not teach publicly without permission from the university, which they had no hopes of procuring, they gained *Julien de St. Germain*, their rector, who of his own private authority, and without the knowledge of the body of which he was chief, admitted

mitted them to teach, by testimonial letters dated the 18th of *February*, 1563. By virtue of these stolen letters they opened their classes. The novelty of teaching gratis, and the merit of the masters, drew an incredible number of scholars; they came from all parts to hear the learned lessons of philosophy and divinity given by *John Maldonat*, a *Spaniard*, one of the first philosophers and most judicious divines of those times. *Laines*, then general of the company, chose this great man to bring it into reputation in *France*.

THE university, surprised to see schools set up in the midst of it, which had not been authorised, forbid the *Ignatians* to continue their lectures till they had produced better titles than letters given without their knowledge, and which they disvowed.

THIS was reducing them to an impossibility. They having no other part to take but that of imploring the protection of the university, presented a request, in which they most humbly intreated it to receive them into the number of its children, and to grant them the enjoyment of its privileges, promising on their side an entire submission to its laws.

THE faculties having had several assemblies upon this affair, resolved to determine nothing upon the request till they had first asked the *Ignatians* what they were. Conformable

formably to this resolution, they were cited the 14th of *February*, 1564, to make their appearance on the 18th following, to reply to this question.

THEY presented themselves on the appointed day; and the rector demanded of them if they were Regulars or Seculars? A very simple, yet very embarrassing question; for they could not say Regulars, without contradicting the conditions upon which the assembly at *Paiſſi* had received them; nor could they declare themselves Seculars, without giving the lie to their vows. How then could they extricate themselves out of so pressing a difficulty? All they could do was to elude the question. "We are in *France*," said they, such as we have been named at court, the society of the collège of *Clermont*." The university offended at their disingenuous reply, rejected their request, and the *Ignatians* seeing themselves deprived of their hopes here, had recourse to the parliament.

THE university, before it engaged in the affair, consulted the famous *Charles du Moulin*, whom *France* reveres to this day as the oracle of the *Law*. This great lawyer found the request of the *Ignatians* but ill founded, and was of opinion that the university might make them desist, by the ordinary course of justice. He said, among other things in his consultation, "That the *Ignatians* were a new order
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of religious, instituted contrary to the former decrees, the synods and general council held at *Rome* under *Innocent III*, in the year 1215; decrees, synods, and council, which have prescribed certain bounds to the establishment of new institutions, that the ecclesiastical orders might not be broke in upon. That the cardinals and prelates assembled at *Nice*, in the year 1538, held by order of pope *Paul III*, forbad the receiving new religious; and that before them, cardinal *Peter d'Ailley*, bishop of *Cambray*, and those two great lights of the *Sorbonne*, *William de St. Amour* and *John Gerson*, had been of the same opinion, because the multitude of such convents brought great inconveniences to the state, and were always a charge to particulars. That the *French* being naturally fond of novelty, it was to be feared if this company once took root in *France*, it would spread there like the dog-grass, to the great damage of the people and clergy. That their society, which seemed to have been instituted to pry into the dispositions of the dying, would be prejudicial not only to every order of the state, but even to all the kingdom. That no wise man could help fearing that the *Italians* and *Spaniards*, of which this company was chiefly composed, would become spies, and taking advantage of the liberty they were to have of going wherever their

superiors pleased to send them, the secrets of the state would by that means pass to the enemy. That the popes, and after them the most learned canonists, believed, that for such a crime the bishops, altho' instituted by a right divine, might be deposed. That it was a monstrous thing, nearly approaching to sedition, and against public right, to erect a new college in the midst of a university, without its permission, where there were schools and colleges enow. That, in fine, the *Ignatians* bewitching the minds of credulous people by the new superstitions they would introduce, would thereby affect the public tranquillity; and that if a stop were not put to it, they would in time to come cause greater disorders."

THE cause was pleaded before the parliament. *Peter Vensoris*, an advocate in great reputation, defended the *Ignatians*. He refuted, with much address, whatever they objected against them, and finished his defence by magnificent praises of their institution.

IN lieu of the sieurs *Montbalon*, *Choart*, *Ebauvelin* and *Chysant*, sworn advocates of the university, who could not upon this occasion act against the *Ignatians*, because they had been consulted, the university chose *Stephen Pasquier*, then very young, but of a superior genius, and who afterwards made himself

so famous at the bar, and in the republic of letters.

He said, the society of the *Ignatians* was an ambitious and hypocritical sect, born in *Spain*, bred at *Paris* and at *Venice*, and persecuted at *Rome*, and at last approved by the popes, who had enriched it with excessive privileges, contrary to common right: that after it had been rejected by the bishop of *Paris*, and condemned by the *Sorbonne*; under pretence of teaching gratis, it only sought its own advantage: that while on the one side it exhausted the riches of families by the legacies it courted, on the other it corrupted the youth by deceitful appearances of piety; that filling the minds of children with a thousand superstitions, it meditated already those revolts which would one day end in the ruin of the kingdom. He particularly inveighed against the vow of blind obedience which they made to their general, always chosen by the king of *Spain*, and shewed them the ill consequences that might be apprehended from it.

He observed, that the more they were devoted to the pope by their particular vow of a boundless obedience to all his orders, the more they were to be suspected by the *French*, who, tho' they acknowledged the bishop of *Rome* for the head of their church, believed him nevertheless inferior to the œcumenical

councils, and held for inviolable maxims, that he could pronounce nothing against the kingdom, the kings, or the arrets of parliament, or ordain any thing to the prejudice of the bishops within the extent of their diocese; therefore in receiving the *Ignatians*, who argued against these pious maxims, they would nourish enemies in the heart of the kingdom who would not fail to make war against the king, if ever the popes should turn their arms against *France*.

THEN, addressing himself to the judges; And you, gentlemen, said he to them, finishing his discourse, you, who may foresee these evils, and yet consent to permit them, you will one day be the first, tho' too late, to condemn the toleration you gave them, when you will behold the troubles they will introduce not only into *France* but into all Christendom.

WHEN he had ended, and *Verforis* had replied, *John Baptist du Mesnil*, a man no less commendable for his perfect probity than for the soundness of his doctrine, which had procured him the post of procurer-general, at first blamed the bitterness of the advocates for both parties, and after having said many things of new orders, and the danger there was both to religion and the state in receiving them indifferently, concluded against the *Ignatians*; upon which, their request was rejected; but the court treated them more favourably

vourably, and appointed the parties to come before the council, ordaining them to remain in the same state they were in before the commencing the process.

THE *Ignatians*, who by the arret were not forbid to read public lessons, continued to teach the youth in their college, and the university enjoyed a state of tranquillity till the year 1577, when ambition, disguised under zeal, gave birth to that furious faction in *France*, which they called by the name of the Holy League, and of which they were the principal supporters; relying upon the *Guises*, and that good man *Charles de Bourbon*, they made a new attempt, which the vigorous resistance of the university entirely frustrated. Some years after, making their advantage of the confusion which they had assisted the *Leaguers* to put the state in, they established themselves boldly in the midst thereof.

BUT, a few weeks after the reduction of *Paris* to the obedience of *Henry IV.*, the university presented a petition to the parliament, by which it demanded the *Ignatians* to be exterminated not only from the university, but also from the whole kingdom, as well for their disobedience to the arrets of the court, as for animating the people to revolt against the king, and forming designs against the life of his sacred person. The curates of

Paris, on their side, complained of the attempts the *Ignatians* made upon their curatory functions, and desired to be received as subsidiary parties, and joined in the same cause with the university.

THE cause was pleaded in private the 12th of July, and took up several hearings. *Antonio Arnauld*, the *Cicero* of the *French* bar in those times, pleaded for the university. He applied himself principally to prove, that the *Ignatians* had conspired, and would still conspire against the king and against the kingdom; that they had formed the design of subjecting all Christendom to the power of the king of *Spain*, to whom they were intirely devoted; that by their vow to obey their general in all things and in all places, he might command them to murder the king; and attributing to the pope, whom they blindly obeyed, the power of deposing kings and absolving their subjects from their oaths of fidelity, they must be always in fear for the life of his majesty and the quiet of the state, while they suffered men who took such strange vows, and taught a doctrine so seditious to remain in the kingdom. Such was the strain of his pleading. Let us see upon what he founded so capital an accusation, and hear him speak himself.

Is it not with the Jesuits, said he, that the ambassadors and agents of the king of *Spain* have

have held their most secret conferences? Is it not with them that *Leuchard*, *Ameline*, *Crucé*, *Cromé*, and murderers like them, have laid their detestable plots? Was it not also with them that in the year 1590, they resolved to murder nine tenths of the inhabitants of *Paris* rather than deliver up the city to the king? Who presided in the council of sixteen; who, but their father *Pigenat*, the most cruel monster in *Paris*? who had such a shock at seeing matters go otherwise than he had promised himself, as turned his brain.

WAS it not in the Jesuits college at *Lyons*, and in that at *Paris*, that the last resolution of assassinating the king was taken? Is not the deposition of *Barriere*, executed at *Melun*, notorious to all? and has it not made every true *French* heart tremble with horror? Was it not the Jesuit *Varade* who assured the murderer he could not do a more meritorious action, and who, to confirm him in this design, made him confess himself to another Jesuit whose name he knew not? These impious, these execrable assassins, did they not also give the communion to this *Barriere*, and employ the most august, most holy and sacred mystery of the christian religion, in order to massacre the first king of Christendom?

I CONFESS, anger and a just indignation transports me almost out of myself, when I see these traitors, these villains, these assassins,

these murderers of kings, these public confessors of such parricides, yet amongst us; that they live and breathe the air of *France*; What say I, they live? they are in court, they are caressed, they are supported, and make new leagues, factions and associations.

THE history of the Peres *Humiliés*, and cardinal *Borromée*, is still recent. One of that fraternity had a design to assassinate this cardinal: immediately the order was suppressed, and all those of that order banished from *Italy* by pope *Pius V.* The Jesuits who intended to murder a king of *France*, are suffered to remain in the kingdom: Is then the life of a cardinal more precious than that of the eldest son and protector of the church? If this court does not deliver us from these new monsters sprung up to devour us, they will do us yet more mischief than they have ever done.

THE murderer of *Melun* is continually before my eyes; and while the Jesuits, the confessors of such assassins are in *France*, I can never be at rest. When they are banished, I shall think we are secure; I shall then see the wicked designs of *Spain* defeated in *France*. When all the fraternities of the name of *Jes. Cordon, Vierge, Cappe, Chapelet* and *Petit Collet*, and an infinite number of such sort of orders shall be suppressed, then the traitors who have

have an inclination to plot against the state, will have none to address themselves to.

If the day of preservation be no less dear than that of our birth, certainly that day on which the Jesuits shall be banished from *France* will be no less remarkable than that on which our university was founded; and as *Charlemagne*, after having delivered *Italy* from the *Lombards*, *Germany* from the *Hungarians*, passing twice into *Spain* and vanquishing the *Saxons*, founded the university of *Paris*, which has been for the space of eight hundred years the most flourishing in the world in all arts and sciences, and which has served for a refuge to the learned banished from *Asia*, destroyed in *Greece*, *Egypt* and *Affyria*, so, *Henry the Great*, having subdued the *Spaniards* by the force of his arms, and exterminated the Jesuits, by your arret, will restore our university to its first glory and ancient splendor.

CONSIDER, if you please, gentlemen, to what pass you are come. You have declared the duke *de Mayenne*, and his adherents, guilty of high-treason: You have wrested the city of *Paris* from them, which they thought to have subjected for ever to their dominion. They regret nothing so much as not having taken away the lives of all who were in it; God has put it this day in your

power.

power to finish the breaking all their plots and schemes of intelligence.

LET not so fair an occasion escape you of delivering us from those to whom letters serve only for instruments to do mischief; drive out these men who have no equals in all sorts of wickedness. And when their advocate shall come to extol the magnanimity and clemency of the king, remember, gentlemen, that it is the blood of this king, so magnanimous, and so merciful, which they every day ask in their prayers, and whose assassination they project in their execrable councils. Remember, that their founder *Ignatius*, was the occasion of this king's losing part of *Navarre*, and that the Jesuits endeavoured by all possible methods to take away the crown of *France* from him, that they might subject and unite it to *Spain* as they had already done that of *Portugal*.

At last, apostrophizing the king, Sire, continued he, it is too much patience in you to endure these traitors, these assassins, in the midst of your kingdom. Your glory is spread over the remotest empires of the earth; they talk of nothing but your victories and conquests; the surname of Great you have acquired for ever; it is consecrated to immortality; your admirable warlike exploits have filled your hands with palms, and put your enemies under your feet.

BUT

BUT your majesty came not into the world for your self alone. Consider, I beseech you, Sire, how the glory of your name will be lessened, if posterity read in the history of your reign, that by not crushing these serpents, or at least driving them out of your kingdom, they should destroy you at last, and after that all your poor subjects. If your generosity will not permit you to have any fear for your own person, have some at least for your servants; they have abandoned their wives, their children, their houses and possessions, to follow your fortune; others who remain in the great cities expose themselves to the cruelties of a siege, till you open the gates; and now, Sire, ought you not to take some care of your own life, to preserve theirs which are inseparably connected with it. Your majesty has open enemies enough to encounter, in *France, Flanders and Spain*. Defend yourself from these domestic assassins; provided they are removed, we fear not the rest; the *Spaniard* can never enslave us but through your blood; and the Jesuits, who are his creatures, will never be quiet till they have shed it. Hitherto our cares have prevented their parricides; but, Sire, if they are suffered to remain amongst us, they will always send us murderers, whom they will confess, to whom they will administer the sacrament

as they did to *Barriere* ; and we cannot always be upon our guard.

THE contrary considerations, which those who have no apprehensions about your death, represent to you, are downright treasons. When you shall have secured your own life, and the safety of so many great towns by destroying the public councils which your enemies have in the midst of them, by means of the Jesuits : then, Sire, shall you be dreaded on t'other side the *Alps* ; then shall be paid you the honour and respect due to the first king ; who wears on his head the crown of glory ; to the greatest king of the christian world. But whilst they flatter themselves with the hopes of destroying your majesty, together with all true *Frenchmen*, by the intrigues, artifices and confessions of Jesuits, they will offer you such indignities as no king of *France* ever yet endured. You are the eldest son of the noblest, most august, and most ancient house in the world ; your whole life has been one continued scene of triumphs, laurels and victories ; and who are these traitors, who are these bastard-sons of *France* who would fill the mind of your majesty with the fear of offending a stranger, that you may still retain these murderers that are continually plotting against your life ? The kings of *France* have been accustomed to give laws, not to receive them. The great
God

God of hosts who has led you by the hand to the place you are now in, has reserved you for things infinitely greater. But, Sire, condemn not the warnings he gives you; banish with these Jesuit-assassins, all those, who building their fortune on your tomb, endeavour to keep them still in your kingdom.

He concluded this vehement harangue, that the court would be pleased, by ratifying the request of the university, to ordain, that all the Jesuits of *France* should evacuate the kingdom, lands and countries under the obedience of his majesty, and should leave them in five days after the notification of this sentence, which should be given in each of their colleges or houses, speaking to one or two for all; and that failing in their obedience to this sentence, if any of them were found in *France* after the time prescribed, they should immediately, without any form or ceremony of process, be condemned as guilty of high-treason against his majesty, and as having conspired against his life.

LEWIS DOLLE, advocate for the curates of *Paris*, pleaded after *Arnauld* had spoke against the *Ignatians*, with much force and eloquence, but with more moderation. He said, that they were not comprized in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, either as Seculars or Regulars; that they had been received in *France* in the form of a society or college, and

and that upon the conditions of undertaking nothing to the prejudice of the bishops or curates ; that far from observing these conditions, they had made themselves censors of the clergy, universal patrons, superintendants of the church ; that by virtue of the privileges which the popes had lavishly bestowed on them, and which the assembly of *Poissi* had forbid them to take advantage of, they were not only elevated above the curates, but even bishops ; and that they had disturbed the hierarchical order of the church.

He painted in the blackest colours the furious zeal they discovered against the king, during the league. Dare you deny, said he, apostrophising them ; dare you deny, that when the deceased king *Henry III*, was at *St. Cloud*, in 1589, that you went every day to the trenches, distributing money and victuals to the soldiers, and exhorting them to persevere in rebellion ; have you not been obliged to confess, that a priest of your company was the chief of the sixteen and presided in the assembly of those villains.——But passing from this reproach to another yet more heavy, he accused them of being accomplices in the crime of *Barriere*, and proved it thus :

THE Jesuits, said he, themselves confess in their apologies, that *Varade* having taken the confession of this assassin, who asked him if he ought to murder the king ; judging by his

his countenance, his words and looks, that he was disordered in his senses, told him, that he could not give him any advice in that affair, because being a priest he would incur the censure of irregularity by doing so, which would hinder him from saying mass, to which he intended to go immediately.

OH heavens! cried *Dolle*, is it possible that a priest upon the point of offering a sacrifice of peace, durst not say, that it was not permitted him to dissuade from parricide. Hypocrite that you are! do you believe you violate the sabbath if you save the life of a man upon that day; your rules permit you to practise physic and surgery, and yet it is against your conscience to snatch the knife from the hands of him who would assassinate your father. But even your own excuse condemns you, and we see but too well to which side you lean. I know, pursued he, addressing himself to the judges, I know, gentlemen, that the Jesuits will say, Put it at the worst, *Varade* only is punishable. What! must we wait to banish all of them, till they have murdered as many kings as there are Jesuits? But, gentlemen, it is not *Varade* alone who has offended; it is all the society who have, by the murdering doctrine which they teach, renewed the execrable doctrine of *Senex de Mon-*

te*, that formidable prince of assassins. There are but few amongst them who have not born a part in this infernal plot. Their sermons at that time, and the vows their brother *Gemmolet* made, are good proofs of it. I may add, that about the time the assassin gave the blow, the same *Gemmolet* encouraged the seditious not to yield; and after having made them understand, by very significant gestures, that something was undertaken which he could not discover to them, he intreated them to expect the execution of it.

DOLLE then spoke of the inconveniences the *Ignatians* introduced by means of confession. If it were necessary, said he, to produce you examples, there are few houses in *France* which may not furnish them. I shall content myself with repeating only one, which is still recent and publickly known. The Jesuits of *Fribourgh* wanted to persuade the little catholic cantons to separate themselves from the protestant cantons, and to break the league, which is the Paladium of the *Swiss*; but finding the men too firm, they imitated the serpent which tempted *Eve*, and addressing themselves to the women, counselled them to refuse the conjugal rite to their husbands without they would promise to

* See *Janville*, Chap. 30. See *Hist. of St. Lewis*, Tom 1. page 230, 234. See also *Vercor's Hist. of the Order of Malta*, Tom 1. page 169, 170.

break the alliance. The ladies obeyed their directors, and the husbands having learned from them by whom they were seduced, chastised the seducers as they deserved.

FROM their confessions he returned to their doctrine, and concluded his speech with these words: We are told, that the Jesuits would have assassinated the king; of this we not only have strong presumptions, but the traitor himself confessed that they advised him. And shall we after this, demur about what we ought to do with those who were for cutting all our throats? Gentlemen, ye never shall have such a fair opportunity. If you do not banish them the kingdom, you establish them therein. Our first motions are vigorous and bold, but they cool in process of time. We have too much experienced this; for during the thirty years that this affair has been in agitation, we have lulled ourselves asleep, and we never think of the evil but when we feel it. The Jesuits, who know our foible, want to procrastinate judgment and gain time, which gains every thing in *France*.

THOSE for whom I plead are not ignorant that their profession forbids them to demand vengeance for the impious crimes of their adversaries: But, gentlemen, as anciently the *Roman* pontiffs were obliged to give notice to the senate of the prodigies that appeared; that they might by expiations turn away the calamities

calamities which they presaged ; in like manner, the prosecutors who have the charge of sacred things, as these pontiffs formerly had, give you notice, that there is a great prodigy in this city, and several other places of *France*, to wit, that there are men, who call themselves religious, that teach their disciples, that it is lawful to destroy kings ; a doctrine the most monstrous that ever was. Expiate, then, gentlemen, the prodigy, according to your great wisdom.

CLAUD DURAT, advocate for the defendants, fearing to expose them to the indignation of the king, and the hatred of the people, by a particular reply to each objection, a reply which could not be made without touching upon very delicate matters, contented himself with denying what was objected to them.

He said, that if they desired to bring a criminal process against them, they ought to do it in the usual forms, and not by a public accusation, which belonged only to the procurer-general or his substitutes to enter ; that a whole society ought not to be involved in the crime of some of its members, but the guilty ought to be named ; that those who had been named were ready to reply to what had been alleged against them, and to defend their cause according to the laws of the kingdom. As for banishing the Jesuits from
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the university, he replied, that the matter being disputed at law for thirty years, and the process not being yet decided, the university could not pursue for a definitive judgment, but that during the litigation it was not allowed to commence a new process for the same fact.

MEAN time the *Ignatians* fearing to lose their process, endeavoured to delay judgment as long as possible; when they saw it was upon the point of being decided, they excepted against three counsellors because they had not been present at all the hearings when the cause was pleaded. The court having on the first of *August* named a judge* to report the cause, and enjoined the *Ignatians* to remit their defence to him, they presented a request to have a delay granted them till their advocate, who was gone to *Tours*, was returned. They obtained a delay for some days, and this time being expired, they demanded it to be prolonged: three days more being all that was granted them, they were at last obliged to produce their defence.

PETER BARNY, procurer of the college of *Clairmont*, drew it up, in which he reduced all that *Arnauld* had said against the *Ignatians* to four heads, namely, the particular vow they made to the pope, their attachment to the king,

* *Jerome Angenoult*, Counsellor of Parliament.

140 THE HISTORY OF

king of *Spain*, the seditions they had raised, and lastly, their advising attempts against the life of kings.

To the first he replied, that the particular vow they made to the pope, was only with regard to missions; to the second, that they were not vassals to the king of *Spain*, and that they acknowledged *Henry IV.* for their lawful sovereign, whose subjects they were born, since they were all *French*; to the third, that they had never been accused of sedition either in *Germany*, *Poland* or *Flanders*, and that *Henry II.*, *Francis II.*, and *Charles IX.* had already cherished them as peaceable men, obedient to kings and to the laws. That they ought not to be reproached with what they had done during the fury of the league, since the king had granted a general amnesty for what was past, from which they were not excluded; to the fourth, that so far from advising the murder of kings, they exhorted every one to fly from vice, more especially such monstrous vices as assassinations; that their generals never commanded any thing contrary to the orders of God, as the murdering kings and princes certainly would be, to whom the holy scripture commands honour and obedience to be paid; that they were only obliged to conform to their superiors in things in which there was no
sin,

sin, and were not contrary to the law of God.

BUT as *Arnauld* and *Dollé* principally founded the demand they made of the banishment of all the *Ignatians*, upon the crime of *Varade*, *Barny* used his utmost efforts to clear his brother, and hinder, supposing even that he was culpable, the whole society from bearing the punishment.

I HERE copy word for word his reply to this capital article, that after having heard both parties, one may judge with more certainty on which side the truth lies

FINALLY, *Arnauld* said, that *Varade*, by order of the defendants, had advised *Barriere* to murder the king, assuring him that he would gain paradise if he did. The said defendants reply, that tho' this should be true, it is not reasonable that others innocent of this personal crime should bear the punishment, and that for the fault of one, which they could neither foresee nor prevent, all the community should suffer. The example of the *Humiliati* at *Milan* who conspired against the cardinal *Borromée* was of no weight in this case, for that it was not a personal conspiracy, but the whole community was engaged in it: and at the same time the said defendants know, that *Varade* had always protested he never gave any such council to *Barriere*, but that when he spoke to him he judged.

judged by his countenance, his looks, his words and gestures, that he was distracted; and that when he had declared his intention to him, he replied, that being a priest, he could not give him any advice in this matter without incurring the censure of irregularity, and consequently being hindered to say mass, to which he was going immediately; and the said *Barriere* asking him to take his confession, he told him, they confessed none in the college, and to get rid of his importunity, bid him go to the chapel of St. *Lewis* in St. *Antony's Street*. This is what *Varade*, hearing the reports that were spread about, had always protested; and added, that he laid no stress, and made no account of what the said *Barriere* spoke, looking upon him as a madman, and therefore had not given the king notice of what he spoke. One great proof of the innocence of the said *Varade*, ought not to be omitted, which is, that he continued at *Paris* some days after the king had entered, without concealing himself in any manner, till he was informed, that for the suspicions which were entertained of him he would be in danger. Add to this, that the king said he pardoned him, and that he should quit the kingdom, which he accordingly did: neither ought it to be omitted, that *Barriere* had deposed at *Lyon*, that one of the company of the said defendants had advised him against this

this parricide, therefore the good council of one ought to have as much weight to save the company, as the bad council of the other to ruin it.

SUCH was the substance of the *Ignatian Barny's* reply to the pleading of *Arnauld*. To that of *Dollé*, he spoke only two words, confining himself intirely to the article of church government; he refuted what they objected upon this head to his company, and argued thus :

IT is certain, said he, that the pope is the head of the ecclesiastical governors, and that the jurisdiction of the church depends intirely upon him. The jesuits administer the sacraments by virtue of the power the pope has given them, therefore they do not pervert the government of the church, as *Dollé* reproaches them with doing.

HE added, that they paid obedience to bishops, that received sacred orders from them; that they confessed persons by their permission, and that they helped to bear the burden of the episcopacy without expecting any thing for their labours; that as for the rest, they had neither burials, dirges, or endowments in their churches, and could therefore do no damage to the curates; that if they were exempted from the visitation of bishops, this privilege was common to many other

other religious orders as well as theirs, and to almost all the chapters of *France*.

THE *Ignatians* would not entirely depend upon these defences, they made use of the interest of all their friends, and tho' those who protected them had been of the party of the league, they were not however the less considered; on the contrary, all favours were meant them, because they wanted to gain their affection. Cardinal *Charles de Bourbon*, nephew of the deceased cardinal of that name, *Francis de la Rochefoucault*, bishop of *Clairmont*, *Charles d'Escars*, bishop of *Langres*, the duke *de Nevers*, the marshal *de Biron*, the count *d'Auvergne*, Mr. *D'O*, governor of *Paris*, and many other persons of great quality solicited so ardently for the company, that they prevented the affair from being thoroughly examined, and the request of the university had then no effect, so that the *Ignatians* were still provisionally supported in all their usual functions.

BUT the murdering doctrine they taught in their college, and which one of their scholars, named *John Chastel*, put in practice, by attempting, on the 27th of *December*, 1594, an execrable parricide on the sacred person of *Henry IV*, who by the mercy of providence was not mortally wounded, obliged the court to banish the masters from the kingdom by the same decree which condemned

demned the disciples to the punishment inflicted on traitors and regicides. This decree, pronounced the 29th of *December* following, and executed, with respect to *Chastel* the same day, bore, That the priests and scholars of the college of *Clermont*, and all others whatever naming themselves of the society of *Jesus*, as corrupters of youth, disturbers of the public repose, enemies of the king and the state, should in three days quit *Paris*, and in five all the kingdom, under pain of being punished as traitors if they were found in it after the expiration of this time; that all their possessions should be employed in works of piety, as it should please the parliament to order; and forbad, upon pain of the same punishment, all the king's subjects to send their children to the colleges of the society out of the kingdom.

AND as a mark of the utmost infamy, this decree was followed a few days after by two others, against two *Ignatians*, the one called *John Guignard*, and the other *John Guenet*; the first was condemned to be hanged and burnt, for being convicted, by his own confession, of having composed and written with his own hand many defamatory libels, containing false and seditious arguments to prove that *Henry III.* had been justly murdered by the *Jacobin James Clemment*; that it was permitted to treat *Henry IV.* in the

same manner, and that if he did not perish in the common way, he ought to die like his predecessor. *Gueret*, under whom *Chastel* had made his course of philosophy, was banished for ever.

THE same decree banished from the kingdom for nine years, and from *Paris* for ever, the father of the murderer, ordaining that his house should be rased, and for a perpetual memorial of the detestable parricide on the person of the king, a pillar of freestone should be erected in its place, with a plate on which should be engraved the cause of its demolition and the erection of this pillar. Conformably to this decree, they erected a pyramid, upon one of the four faces of which was engraved the decree against *James Chastel*, which contained also for what the *Ignatians* were banished; and on the other three faces several *Latin* inscriptions in prose and verse, to make posterity detest this horrible attempt, and the abominable doctrine by virtue of which it had been committed.

THE parliaments of *Rouen* and *Dijon* followed the example of that at *Paris*, but those of *Bourdeaux* and *Toulon* were not willing to conform to it; so that the *Ignatians* maintained themselves in *Guienne* and *Languedoc* till their re-establishment. Some of the banished *Ignatians* abjured their order, and under the pretence of not being *Ignatians*, returned

returned to the cities from whence they had been driven, and settled there. The parliament of *Paris*, informed of this trespass, gave a decree on the 21st of *August*, 1597, which confirmed that of the 29th of *December*, 1594, ordaining, that it should be executed according to its form and tenor, and forbidding all persons, bodies and communities, officers and individuals, of whatever quality, to receive, or suffer to be received, any of the society, though they had even abjured their order and renounced their vows, upon pain of being threatened as persons guilty of high treason.

CLEAR as this order was, the mayor and magistrates of the city of *Lyons*, still leaguers in their hearts, ventured to elude it in favour of an *Ignatian* named *Porjan*, whom they had made principal of their college. They pretended he was not comprehended either in this last decree, nor in that of 1594. The reasons they gave in a remonstrance addressed to the court, were these; that tho' *Porjan* had formerly been of the society of those who called themselves Jesuits, he did not however make profession of their order; that he had quitted it before the decree made for their banishment; and so far from having any commerce with them, he hated them and was reciprocally hated.

BUT the court, too well instructed in the constitutions of the *Ignatians* to be ignorant that the scholars and coadjutors are as indissolubly tied to the company, with regard to them, as the professors, looked upon *Porfan* as a true Jesuit, although he had not made profession, and doubted not but he was there by a contrivance between him and his superiors; therefore without having any regard to the remonstrances of the magistrates of *Lyons*, they ordered, the 16th of *October*, 1597, upon the inferences of *Simon Marion*, advocate-general, that the decree of the 21st of *August* should be executed even to the letter of it, and that *Porfan* should be brought prisoner to the parliament-jail there, and be interrogated upon the informations given against him.

THE *Ignatians* still found in the person of Mr. *de Tournan*, a very zealous protector, since he rather chose to lose his post of chief-justice of *Auvergne*, and see all his goods confiscated, than obey an order of the first of *October*, 1597, which enjoined him to banish them from the city and lordship of *Tournon*.

NOTWITHSTANDING the vigilance of the parliament in the execution of its decrees against the society, the *Ignatians* did not cease to make application to the court, and approaching by degrees the person of the king, they

they ingenuously confessed that they had favoured *Spain* to the prejudice of *France*, because *Spain* had not only received them into all the kingdoms, lands and lordships under its dominion, but had also cherished, revered, protected, and covered them with benefits; but that *France* received them only upon the most mortifying conditions, and had always been against them: they added, that if he pleased to favour them with his benevolence, they would give themselves to him with an intire devotion, and would serve him even against *Spain*. They then intreated him to put them to the trial, consenting to be ignominiously banished, deprived of his favour, and punished like villains, if ever they failed in their fidelity to him.

HENRY was not much moved with these fine promises; considering however, that he had but one of these two parts to take, either to recal them, or by new rigors to prevent them from approaching his person and dominions; the fear that this last expedient would carry them to some desperate attempt, determined him to prefer the first. These men, said he to the faithful *Sully*, who was of a contrary opinion, these men have intelligences and correspondences every where, and a great dexterity in disposing the minds of people to their wishes: the perpetual apprehensions I shall be in of being poisoned or

assassinated, renders my life insupportable, and I had rather be already dead than live in such inquietude, for I am of *Cæsar's* opinion, that that death is the most to be desired which is the least foreseen and expected.

Sully, rather than leave his good master in so cruel a situation, consented to the recal of the *Ignatians*, which he had till then strongly opposed, and even became their solicitor.

'Twas the intrepid *Henry*, whom the most formidable armies had not been able to astonish, trembling at the single idea of the sacred knife, which the *Ignatians* every moment meditated to plunge into his heart by the hand of some new *Chastel*, to deliver himself from this fear, and to live in repose, granted them letters patents for their re-establishment, which had been solicited by the pope, *Sillery*, *Jeannin*, *Villeroy*, and *La Varenne*, the minister of his secret amours.

THEY were permitted upon certain conditions*, to continue in the places where they

* These Conditions among others were, that all those permitted to stay in *France* should be Natives of *France*; that one of them, who was likewise *French*, should be generally about the King and sufficiently authorized by the Company, where, as preacher to his Majesty, he should answer for the Actions of the Company on any occasion that should present itself; that all those who were then in *France*, and all who should for the future

they were then established, namely, at *Toulouse, Agen, Rodez, Bordeaux, Perigueux, Limoges, Tournon, Puys, Auberaz, Beziers*; to which places, the king, to please the pope, added *Lyons, Dijon, and Le Fleche in Anjou.*

THESE letters, given the beginning of *September, 1608*, were brought to the parliament some days before the vacations, which commenced the eighth of the same month, and the court put off the affair till after *St. Martin's* day, to deliberate thereupon more at leisure.

THE assembled courts voted most humble remonstrances to the king to make known the justice and necessity of banishing the *Ignatians*, and the danger to which their recall exposed the kingdom.

UPON *Christmas-eve*, the deputies having been introduced into the cabinet of the king, *Achilles de Harley*, a magistrate of consummate integrity, and whose name alone is a sufficient eulogium, made a speech and employed all his eloquence to persuade his majesty that he had commanded a thing con-

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future be receiv'd into their Society, should take an Oath before the Officers Royal not to do or undertake any thing against the Service of the King, the public peace and quiet of the Kingdom, without any Exception or Reservation.

trary to the safety of his sacred person, the preservation of his authority, and the good of his kingdom.

SIRE, said he, your court of parliament having deliberated upon your letters patents for the re establishment of the priests and scholars of the college of *Clermont*, in the former places of its jurisdiction, has ordered, that the most humble remonstrances should be made to your majesty, and charged us to represent to you some points which we judge necessary for the good of your affairs and the public safety. These depends upon your preservation; which points have prevented us from proceeding to the ratification.

THOSE of this order calling themselves Jesuits, acknowledge our holy father the pope for their superior; they take an oath of fidelity and obedience in all things to him; they hold for an indisputable maxim, that he has the power of excommunicating kings; that an excommunicated king is a tyrant, and his subjects may rise against him; that all the ecclesiastics are exempted from the secular power, and that they may with impunity attempt the lives of sacred persons. This is what they publish in their writings, and they impugn the opinion of those who hold contrary propositions.

Two doctors of law, both *Spaniards*, having maintained in their writings that the clergy were subject to the power of kings and princes, one of the first in the society wrote against them, saying, among other reasons, that as under the Old Testament the *Levites* were exempted from all secular power, the clergy under the New, were also exempted from the same power, and that kings and monarchs have no jurisdiction over them.

YOUR majesty will not approve of these maxims; they are too false and erroneous; they must therefore abjure them, if they desire to remain in your kingdom. If they do not abjure them, will you permit them to continue here? and if they do, can you believe they can honestly have one doctrine for *Rome* and *Spain*, and another altogether opposite for *France*, which rejects that which those beyond the mountains receive? Can you believe that they may quit this doctrine in one place where it is not suffered, and teach it in another where it is? If they say they can do this by virtue of some secret dispensation, what confidence can you place in souls brought up in a profession which the diversity and change of place renders good and evil. This doctrine is common to all the society in whatever country they are, and it makes such progress in your

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kingdom that it will run at last into the most moderate and reserved societies. At their first establishment they had no greater enemies than the *Sorbonne*; at present it is favourable to them, because a great many young divines study in their colleges; other scholars who will likewise go through their studies there, and may be advanced, and perhaps hold the first places in your parliaments, holding the same doctrine with them, will withdraw from your obedience, suffer all the rights of your crown, and the liberties of the church of *France* to be lost, and judge no treasonable crime punishable if committed by an ecclesiastic.

WE have been so unhappy in our days to see the detestable effects of their instructions. *Barriere*! I tremble, Sire, when I pronounce that name: *Barriere*, who had studied under the Jesuit *Varade*, confessed he had received the communion from him, on an oath he had taken before him to assassinate you. Having miscarried in his enterprize, other Jesuits animated the little viper, that accomplished in part what *Varade* had sworn.

GUIGNARD, another Jesuit, wrote books with his own hand in which he maintained, that the parricide of the deceased king had been justly committed, and confirmed the position condemned by the council of *Constance*. What have we not to apprehend when

when we call to mind these wicked and disloyal actions which may be so easily renewed? if we must pass our days in a perpetual fear of seeing your life in danger, what quiet shall we find for our own? Would it not be an impiety to foresee the danger and the evil, and let them approach you so near? Would it not be plunging ourselves into the deepest misery to survive that ruin of the state, which, as we have formerly presented to your majesty, is retarded only by the length of your life?

WE thank God, Sire, for the good intelligence which subsists between you and our holy father; may he long maintain you on the throne, and him in the holy see; but if age or sickness cut the thread of his days, and if his successor, animated by a spirit of hatred, draw his spiritual sword against you, as his predecessors have done against other kings of *France* and *Navarre*, what sorrow shall we not feel to see amongst us so many enemies of this state, and conspirators against your majesty, who will treat you as they did the deceased king of happy memory, having under his reign been the principal authors and ministers of the rebellion, and not innocent of his parricide.

If it is permitted to mix any thing of foreign affairs with our own, we may draw a horrible instance of the perfidy of the Jesuits from

from the history of *Portugal*. When the king of *Spain* endeavoured to usurp that kingdom, all the religious orders continued faithful to their king, the Jesuits alone abandoned him to advance the power of *Spain*, and were the cause of the death of two thousand as well religious as other ecclesiastics, for which they had a bull of absolution.

THEIR doctrine and past behaviour was the cause that when *Chastel* raised his hand against you, we made against all their society as well as him, that decree which we have consecrated to the remembrance of the happiest miracle which ever happened in our time, judging from thence that if they continued to instruct the youth in this wicked and damnable doctrine, there was no security for your life; for which reason we passed over all forms.

WE most humbly therefore intreat you, Sire, that agreeably to that decree, justly made, and then necessary to deter so many traitors from conspiring against you, it would please you to recal and preserve the remembrance of the danger to which we were then exposed, of seeing the life of our common father taken away; a life more dear to us than our own. We should think, Sire, we merited the shameful reproach of disloyalty and ingratitude, if we did not take care, since you have made our tranquility and
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our property truly your own. The memory of the past ought to serve as the precaution for the future. We should take heed, lest for want of foresight and prevention, we be ingulphed in the abyss of a second shipwreck.

THESE, Sire, are the most humble remonstrances, and an abstract of those reasons which have with-held us from publishing the letters, fearing that we might be justly reproached with having too easily proceeded to their ratification.

HENRY, who had taken his resolution, and who heard these remonstrances only for form sake, paid no regard to them. After having with much goodness thanked the deputies and their companies for the zeal they discovered for the public good, and the safety of his person, I foresaw, said he, the objections and inconveniences you come to represent to me; but I desire you would leave the care of remedying them to me, and register my edict without any restriction.

AN order so clear did not hinder the parliament from forming difficulties upon recording it pure and simply, nor from supplicating his majesty to permit them to qualify some articles in the edict: but the king, who thought he gained a great deal by avoiding to grant the *Ignatians* a general establishment, which the pope had demanded for them, and who with much difficulty had
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made him approve the conditions of the edict, would not consent to make any alteration in it for fear of displeasing his holiness, and discontenting still more the general of the *Ignatians*, who was not satisfied with these conditions. He caused the court to be told by M. *Andrew Huraut de Messe*, counsellor of state, that they must record the edict according to its form and tenour, without using any more delays, or restriction, lest he should be obliged to come to remedies very displeasing to him.

FORCED at last by these menaces and letters of mandate to comply, the court registered the edict in these terms: Registered with the consent of his majesty's procurer-general, after very humble remonstrances made to his said majesty, at *Paris*, in parliament, this 2d day of *January*, 1604.

IN this manner the *Ignatians* triumphed over the parliament, which had the mortification the following year to see that pyramid thrown down which by the royal authority had been erected, to make known the cause of their banishment.

THE most humbling condition of the edict was that which obliged them to have always one of their society, a *Frenchman*, born, with the king, sufficiently authorised to serve him for a preacher, and to answer to him for the actions of the company. This
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condition, which shewed how much their fidelity was suspected, since he was willing to be assured of it by hostages, procured them the greatest advantage they could possibly desire, being by that become confessors to the king, and very powerful in the court.

PETER COTTON, a man of a subtle, supple and insinuating temper, who had been one of the most ardent solicitors for the re-establishment of his brethren, was the first who filled this post, and knew so well how to profit by the access which was allowed him to *Henry's* person, and by his address in insinuating himself into his favour, that he obtained from this easy and unsuspecting prince whatever he pleased: he brought him first to permit the *Ignatians* to return to *Paris*, and by virtue of this permission, which was only verbal, they again took possession of their present house of *St. Lewis*, and their college of *Clermont*; they lived there, celebrated divine service, and administered the sacraments as they had done before their exile.

AFTERWARDS, *Cotton* engaged the king to confirm by letters, what he had only verbally granted. These letters were dated the 21st of *July*, 1606, and recorded the 20th of *August* following, gave them liberty to perform the usual functions of their order, except only scholastic exercises and public lectures.

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THIS article was of no use to them; but fertile in expedients, they thought of one upon which would not contradict the will of the king. This was, to admit pensioners, and lodge them in the houses which they built in the court of their college, and to make them study under foreign masters. We are not forbid, said they, to let our houses to whom we please; and it is more suitable to our condition that they should be rented by scholars than married men.

HOWEVER, as they still suffered inconveniences, *Cotton*, by the force of importunity, obtained at last, on the 20th of *October*, 1609, new letters, which permitted them to teach divinity publicly in their college of *Clermont*; they demanded the parliament to confirm these letters, who ordered them to be communicated to the rector. The faculties opposed their being registred, and *Cotton* having remarked by some words which fell from the king, that he was willing to keep well with the university, advised them not to pursue the affair.

WHILE this great man so effectually served his company with the king, they on their side laboured as successfully to extend their dominion in all *France*, and in a little time after their recal they had eight or nine new colleges in the most considerable cities of the kingdom; they succeeded in every thing they

they attempted, and, except the city of *Troye*, which they could never subject, they triumphed over all the obstacles that were formed to their advancement.

BUT this swift progress was soon interrupted by a storm that was raised against them, on account of the deplorable death of *Henry IV.*, who having escaped the knife of *Chastel*, who studied with the society, perished by that which the doctrine they taught put into the hands of the detestable *Ravilliac*.

THE 27th of *May*, the same day on which this infernal monster was executed, the parliament, to shew they attributed the king's assassination to the doctrine of the *Ignatians*, having observed this villain had with great subtilty made use of the damnable maxims of the *Ignatian Mariana*, in his defence, they commanded by a decree, all the faculty of divinity in *Paris* to assemble, and again confirm their former censure, authorised by the council of *Constance* against those who taught, that a vassal or subject might, and even ought in conscience to murder a tyrant wherever he was, and attack him by all sorts of ways, and that this action was not contrary to that oath of fidelity which vassals and subjects make to their sovereign.

THE doctors obeyed, and on the tenth of *June* the parliament, by another decree, condemned,

demned the book intituled, *Of the king, and of his institution*, wrote in *Latin* by *Mariana*, to be burnt by the hand of the executioner, as containing many execrable positions against the deceased king, *Henry III*, and against the persons and dominions of all sovereign princes.

THIS condemnation awakened the zeal of the good *French*, against a doctrine which had plunged a knife into the breast of the best of kings; and the *Ignatians*, on this occasion, had terrible assaults to sustain. Attacked on all sides, from the pulpit and in public writings, they were obliged to make their apology; but the subtil *Cotton*, who was the author, employed all his art in vain.

THIS studied apology served only to honour the triumphs of their adversaries, and to make the cry still louder against the society: they reproached them with the seditious sermons of the fathers *Cammolet* and *Hardy*, one of which cried like a fury in *St. Bartholomew's* church, we must have an E-HAD, be he monk or be he soldier, we must have an E-HAD: and the other, in the pulpit of *St. Severin*; kings amass treasure to make themselves formidable; but there only wants a common man at chess to mate or conquer a king.

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THEY forgot not the apotheosis of *Clement Chastel*, *Guignard* and *Garnet*, whom the society had canonized as glorious martyrs.

IN the midst of this almost general disgust against the society, they endeavoured to establish themselves at *Troye*, in spite of the inhabitants, and demanded permission to make public lectures at *Paris*; two enterprises which they durst not attempt in more favourable junctures. The *Ignatians* had already failed in the first of these enterprises, in the preceding reign, but thinking to take better measures in this, they returned to the charge. The bishop *, who by their interest had obtained his bulls gratis; the president †, whom they had gained by money, and those who were formerly of the party of the league, being entirely devoted to them, declared for the society. But the chapter of the cathedral, that of the collegiate church of *St. Stephen*, the greatest part of the clergy, the officers of the city-chamber; in a word, all who were for the deceased king, against the leaguers, vigorously opposed their reception.

THE reasons for their refusal, which they gave publicly, were, that since the happy reduction of their city to the obedience of *Henry IV*, they had lived in a perfect tranquillity, but that the Jesuits came to awake their

* Bene Bresse. † Angonoust,

their former quarrels ; that they now saw two factions, the one composed of their partizans, the other of those who truly loved their country : that the first arrogated to themselves the name of good catholics, and gave to their adversaries the odious epithets of atheists, schismatics, politicians, and un-sound catholics, as father *Binet* was pleased to characterise them in his scandalous sermons ; that as soon as the Jesuits were fixed in any place, they wanted all persons in it to put themselves under their jurisdiction, sowing divisions in families, and insinuating themselves into them to discover all their secrets, even those more particular ones which passed between the husband and his wife ; that in fine, under the pious pretence of advancing the glory of God, they only sought their own private advantage.

NOTWITHSTANDING these unfavourable dispositions, the bishop did not cease to form intrigues for the re-establishment of his benefactors.

JAMES NIVELLE, theologer and penitentiary of *St. Peter*, was then principal of the college ; and as the time at which he was to quit his office expired at the festival of *St. Remi*, the bishop assembled the deputies of all the bodies of the city, in his episcopal palace, to elect a new principal. *Dennis Latrecy*, curate of *St. Magdalen*, and canon of *St.*

St. Peter, came to the assembly, where he was neither summoned nor deputed, instructed by the prelate what part he was to act. He insinuated, that it was best to chuse perpetual rectors, and not elect them from time to time. He added, that the Jesuits were willing to charge themselves voluntarily with the trouble of this office, which would be more advantageous to the city than if others had it, because they had a sufficient fund for the maintenance of a college. They deliberated upon this proposition some time, and after a very lively debate, it was rejected by a great number of deputies, who said, that the question was not, whether they should admit or refuse the Jesuits; their business was to elect a principal in the place of him who had served his time; and they named *Abraham Drouet*, a native of the city, and a bachelor of divinity; a man very capable of filling the post. The bishop seeing it would be impossible to succeed in his design in this assembly, broke it up under pretence of calling another more numerous.

MEAN time the partizans of the company dispatched *Latrecy* to *Paris* with a verbal process, in which they gave the queen to understand, that the inhabitants demanded the Jesuits to instruct the youth.

As soon as the opposite party heard of this fraud, they drew up a verbal process directly
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contrary to it, and charged *Nicholas Guichard*, counsellor to the presidial, to carry it immediately to the court. *Latrecy*, who had the start of him by some days, obtained letters of the regent, permitting them to hold an extraordinary assembly; but the use the bishop designed to make of these letters so illegally gained, excited such murmurs in *Troye* that Mr. *De Prasslin*, who was then governor there, was obliged to hasten with the greatest diligence to put a stop to the disorder.

ALL the bodies of the city assembled, and authentically disavowed what the partizans of the Jesuits had done, without any authority from them. The mayor of the city *, the dean of the cathedral church †, a counsellor of the presidial ‡, and two Eschevins §, were named to go and make remonstrances to the queen. These deputies were presented to her by the duke *de Nevers*, governor of the province. The dean, who spoke for the rest, having very respectfully remonstrated to her majesty, that an unfair representation had been made to her when they told her that the inhabitants of *Troye* desired to have the Jesuits among them, for that their inclination never led them in any manner to approve their establishment. The queen replied, that they

* M. Pitbon. † M. Vertier. ‡ M. Trutat.
 M. Sapler, and D'Aubertierre.

they had indeed given her to understand that the inhabitants of *Troys* had demanded the Jesuits; but that since there was nothing in it, she did not desire to oblige them to receive persons whom they did not like. Thus the *Ignatians* could not establish themselves in this city; which to this very day has continued inflexible to the company's solicitations.

THEY were more successful in the attempt they made to obtain leave to teach publicly in their college at *Paris*, which continued still shut up. The queen-regent, into whose good graces they had insinuated themselves, granted them permission by letters dated the 10th of *August*, 1610; but the rector and faculties of the university opposing the registering thereof, there was a necessity, in order to remove this opposition, to come to a trial.

THE matter was publicly pleaded the following year, in several hearings, and made a great noise. *Peter de la Martelliere*, whom the court appointed to plead the university's cause, as no advocate durst undertake it for fear of disobliging the queen, set forth in his pleadings all that *Pasquier*, *Du Mesnil*, *Arnauld*, *Dolle*, *Marion*, and the first president *du Harlay*, had already advanced against the *Ignatians*. To this he added, what they were accused of having done since in

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England, Holland, Venice, Genoa *, and elsewhere. He did not forget mentioning their doctrine of probability, equivocation, mental reservation, and likewise their *Italian* divinity. In fine, he concluded, that if the parliament would not pay any regard to the remonstrances of the university, the latter would at least enjoy the satisfaction of having done their duty, and given more than once, by their reiterated oppositions to the intrigues of the society, an undoubted proof of their sincere and steady attachment to the service of the king, and the common good of their country.

JAMES DE MOUTHOLON, advocate for the *Ignatians*, made answer in a very short speech, which he pronounced with so low a voice that half of the audience could not hear him. He said, the long pleading of *Martelliere* was no other than a contexture of calumnies, to which, as a refutation that might serve for all,

* There was discovered (said he,) at *Genoa* in the year 1604. a fraternity that was established by the Jesuits, consisting of the principal Lords of the regency. This fraternity held their Assemblies in the company's house, and all of them swore at their admission, not to vote for any to be raised to the public offices of the republic, but such as were members of their own society. The Senate after being ascertained of the fact, resolved to banish the Jesuits; but they pardoned them, upon their averring, that what they had done was by reason that there were several persons in the city that favour'd the *French*, and held intelligence with them.

all, it was sufficient to oppose the illustrious testimonies given to the jesuits by popes, emperors and kings : and he concluded with requiring the parliament's confirmation of the letters of permission for opening their college.

PETER HARDEVILLIER, rector of the university, after this, made in fine *Latin* an harangue, or rather rhetorical declamation against the society.

THE advocate-general, *Servin*, who spoke last, observed, that it was not decent in the *Ignatians*, immediately after the death of *Henry IV*, to demand a thing which that great prince did not think proper should be granted them. He added, that if they were resolved to persist in their new demand, they ought, before every thing else, to sign four articles contrary to the pernicious doctrine which *Bellarmino*, *Valenze*, *Vasquez*, *Tolet*, *Suarez*, *Molina*, *Azor*, *Mariana*, *Scribanius*, and many other celebrated authors of their society had taught in their writings.

THE articles they required them to sign were, I. That it is never lawful to assassinate princes upon any account whatsoever. II. That princes depend on God alone as to their temporalities. III. That no power whatsoever, not even the church assembled in councils or otherwise, hath a right of dispensing or absolving the king's subjects of the alle-

giance and obedience they owe him. IV. That they will maintain by word and by writing the liberties of the *Gallican* church, and teach nothing contrary thereunto.

THE first president *Du Verdun*, asked the eight *Ignatians* that were present at the hearing, if they would sign these articles, and prevail with their general to do so? One of them, who was the provincial, made answer, that there was a positive order in their statutes to conform to the laws of the country where they lived, all the time of their residence among them: and after having read the passage in a book which he held in his hand, he added, that they could not promise for their general's signing what was required of them; but that they would write to him concerning it, and do in it all they were able.

MOUTHOLON, their advocate, upon seeing them embarrassed, said, that they would oblige themselves to conform to the doctrine of the *Sorbonne*, and the laws of the university, so far as they corresponded therewith; and as soon as the *Sorbonne*, which was more ancient than their society, subscribed the four propositions, they would make no scruple to do so too.

At length, on the 22d of *December*, 1611, was interposed an arret, importing, that the provincial and those of his company who assisted

sisted with him at the hearing, should subscribe the submission which he made, to conform to the doctrine of the *Sorbonne*, and to what regards the preservation of the sacred person of kings, the execution of their royal authority and the liberties of the *Gallican* church, observed at all times and from the highest antiquity in the kingdom.—However, with a prohibition to the Jesuits to teach the youth at *Paris*, or perform any scholastic functions whatever, on pain of forfeiture of their establishment.

THE *Ignatians*, tho' extremely mortified at this disgrace, yet held their peace and stifled their grief. They obeyed the arret, sent away their students, together with the foreign masters they had assigned them. They let the university peaceably enjoy their triumph, and set it forth in *Greek*, *Latin* and *French* verses.

BUT *Martilliere* having published his discourse, they engaged *Montbolon* to answer it. This celebrated advocate, assisted by the memoirs with which *Cotton* had taken care to furnish him, made it twenty times more ample than that he had pronounced at the audience, and published it the following year. It was divided into four parts: the first contained a justification of the manners of the *Ignatians*: the second was an apology for their institution: the third shewed the

conformity of their doctrine to that of the catholic, apostolical, *Roman* and *Galliean* church: the fourth, regarded the falsities, contradictions, injuries and impertinences which they pretended the pleadings of *Martilliere* were filled with. But *Mouthalon*, like an able orator, put off this matter to another time, which never yet came, and supplied it with attestations dispatched into *Germany*, *Bobemia*, *Walackia*, *Moldavia*, *Transylvania*, and *Spain*, which justified the society from the artifices and violences which they accused them of having used in the Low Countries, against the other religious, usurping their monasteries.

THE *Ignatians* distributed this pleading every where, in order to efface the bad impressions which that of *Martilliere* had given of them, and still continued firm in the resolution of establishing themselves in the university, and privately laboured to remove the obstacles they met with, and waited for an opportunity favourable to their designs to act openly. Such an opportunity presented itself some years after, and they did not fail to take advantage of it.

LEWIS XIII, having in 1614 assembled the general estates of the kingdom, the university of *Paris* made a demand, founded upon some former examples, to have a seat and a voice amongst them, and addressing them-

themselves to this purpose to the king's council, they obtained an ordonnance which they signified to the states by a proper officer. The clergy, offended at a proceeding so little respectful, opposed the execution of the ordonnance, which gave occasion to an arret of council that gave the university only leave to draw up a schedule of complaints, and carry it to the ecclesiastical chamber of the states, to be there examined.

THE faculties could not agree on what they were to demand: the faculty of arts alone drew up the paper. It contained things so contrary to the pretensions of the court of *Rome*, touching the independance of kings and the liberties of the *Gallican* church, that the clergy, the greatest part of whose deputies were the pope's creatures, to be revenged, inserted an article in this schedule, by which the king was most humbly intreated to establish the Jesuits in the university.

As soon as this demand of the clergy was known, there appeared a great number of writings against the *Ignatians*, in which they called to remembrance the disadvantageous opinions the bishop of *Paris*, the *Sorbonne*, the parliament, the most illustrious magistrates, and the greatest lawyers in the kingdom had formerly given of their institution. The society replied to this by apologies, in

which they were not contented with justifying themselves from the reproaches cast on them, but endeavoured to take away all credit from their adversaries, and decried them as declared enemies to the secrets of the catholic religion. On the other side, the powerful intercessors they had with the king, never ceased extolling the great merits of the society, so that *Arnoux* * found no great difficulty in obtaining permission for them to open their classes, which *Lewis* granted them by an arret of council, the 15th of *February*, 1618.

ALL the remonstrances of the university having been ineffectual to get this arret revoked, they made certain rules which excluded from degrees those who had not studied in it, which the *Ignatians* complained of as an encroachment upon the royal authority; and *De Laines*, their protector, then very powerful with the king, made them cancel these rules by an arret of the council; but the university so well defended their rights and privileges that they were maintained in possession of them, giving degrees to none but those who had gone through their courses of philosophy and divinity in their schools.

THE *Ignatians*, not having been able to introduce themselves into the university of
Paris,

* Who succeeded Father *Cotton* as the King's Confessor in 1617.

Paris, undertook to erect one at *Tournon*. *Lewis XIII*, being at *Lyons* in the latter end of the year 1622, *Gaspard Sequirari*, his new confessor, artfully insinuated to the king, that in the provinces situated along the *Rhone* he had no other university but that of *Avignon*, a city under the dominion of the pope, where they gave degrees in divinity; but that if his majesty would be pleased to grant to the college of *Tournon*, where the Jesuits taught this science, the privilege of making masters of arts, batchelors and doctors, and of making the graduates who would have a right to succeed, certain months in the year, to benefices vacant by death, this establishment would be much more advantageous to his subjects of *Languedoc*, *Vivanez*, *Dauphine*, and *Lyonnois*, who by that means would have access to a university where they received all the graduates gratis.

THE king, without examining any thing farther, granted all his confessor demanded. The patents, which he caused to be expedited, were registered by the parliament of *Toulouse* the 9th of *March*, the following year, without having been communicated to the universities of *Valence*, *Catiers* and *Toulouse*, tho' they sent members to this parliament: but as soon as they were acquainted with this march they had stole upon them, they formed an opposition, and on the 19th of *July* following,

obtained a decree from the same court, containing a prohibition to the jesuits of *Tournon* to take upon them the title of university, to give any matricular testimonial, to confer degrees in any faculty, or make any nomination to benefices, on pain of becoming null and void.

THE *Ignatians* had recourse to the king's council for relief against this arret, flattering themselves that *Lewis* would confirm the gift he had so easily granted ; and perhaps it would have happened as they expected, had not the university of *Valence* invited that of *Paris* and all others in the kingdom to join in their cause : to this they consented the more willingly as it was their common interest to oppose the enterprizes of a society who sought only to raise itself upon their ruin.

DOCTOR *Gaspard Fromeno*, professor at *Valence*, instructed the judges by a memorial intitled, *An advertisement of the universities of France against the Jesuits*, addressed to the king, and to the lords of his council. This piece, equally strong and respectful, was presented the 25th of *September*, and struck a dreadful blow against the *Ignatians*. Two days after, the king having heard the report of the process, *John Aubert*, rector of the university of *Paris*, was admitted into the council, and defended there so eloquently
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and solidly the cause of the universities, that it was decided in their favour by an arret which put the parties out of the court.

THE rector and the syndick of the college of *Tournon*, presented a request to the council, on the 28th of *September*, to be maintained in their former privileges. The king sent it to the parliament of *Toulouse* to be confirmed, and ordered that they should provisionally enjoy the same privileges they did before his letters of *December*, 1622, till it was otherwise ordered by the said court.

MEAN time the universities published all the pieces of the process which they could procure, and made the hawkers cry them in all the streets of *Paris*. The *Ignatians* were prudent enough to make no reply, for fear of drawing on answers still worse; and confined themselves to the defence of the right which they pretended they had to teach divinity in *Tournon*.

THINGS continued thus till the end of the year 1624, when the dispute began again with more fury than ever. The *Ignatians*, publicly accused of teaching a seditious doctrine, contrary to the authority of the king, and the tranquility of the state, thought themselves obliged to repel these accusations; and for that purpose published an apology under the name of *Pelletier*, their creature; but the university, having reprinted it, with a

refutation, in the form of marginal notes, they presented a request to the king, in which, after having remonstrated the calumnies with which they had been loaded, they intreated his majesty to forbid, under severe punishments, the rector of the university of *Paris*, and all others, to say or write any thing against the society.

THE rector, to whom this request was communicated, immediately presented another, in which, in his turn, he implored the king not to condemn the universities without hearing them; and in their names offered to prove before his majesty, or before the parliament, the truth of their accusations against the jesuits.

THESE two requests being sent to the parliament, the 17th of *January*, 1626, the cause was upon the point of being pleaded, when they brought to the king's officers a treatise on heresy, schism, and apostacy, and on the power the pope had of punishing those crimes. This treatise was the composition of an *Italian Ignatian*, and had been printed at *Rome*, in the year 1625, with the approbation of *Matio Viteleratri*, general of the company. Never came book more a propos to the wishes of the universities, to draw them at once out of the embarrassment they were in, to prove their accusations: it furnished them with the most convincing and decisive proofs

proofs imaginable. The author maintained in this piece, that the tribunal of the pope is the same with that of Jesus Christ; that our divine Saviour having said to St. *Peter*, *Feed my sheep*; it follows, that the pope must be the sovereign pastor of the church, and that in this quality he had the power of reprov- ing kings, and of punishing them with death; that he could not only depose them, and de- prive them of their dominions for the crimes of heresy or schism, and absolve their sub- jects from the oath of fidelity, but that he also had a right to give tutors to princes in- capable of governing their subjects; that he might even depose negligent, disobedient and incorrigible sovereigns, those who had com- mitted any considerable or public sin, and those who did not take care to defend the church; and, in fine, that he might inflict all sorts of punishments on them, because they were not within the pale of the church.

THESE and some other propositions no less contrary to the fundamental maxims of the *French* monarchy, and the independance of the king, who acknowledges no other supe- rior than God, raised the indignation of the court against them to such a degree, that they issued out two arrets immediately after each other, one against the doctrine of *San- tarelli*, the other for the *Ignatians* themselves to condemn it.

180 The HISTORY OF

By the first, dated *March 13th, 1626*, the book was condemned to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, as containing propositions false, scandalous and seditious, tending to the subversion of the sovereign power established by God, and favouring the rising of subjects against their prince, capable of prevailing upon them to forsake their obedience, and of making attempts upon their persons and states; and, in fine, calculated to trouble the public tranquillity: the same ordered the provincial, the superiors of the three houses in *Paris*, and three of the most ancient jesuits, to appear the next day to be heard, upon the doctrine taught in this book.

THEY obeyed, and the parliament having interrogated them according to the usual form put some questions very embarrassing, to persons obliged as they were by a solemn vow, to a blind obedience to their general and the pope. Speak freely, said the magistrates to them; do you believe that the pope can excommunicate the king, absolve his subjects from their oath of fidelity, and leave his kingdom to be made a prey of?

OH! gentlemen, replied *Cotton*, provincial of the provinces of *Paris*, who spoke for the rest; what! excommunicate the king, who is the eldest son of the church? Nothing can ever oblige the pope to come to so terrible

rible an extremity. But, said the parliament, does not your general, who has approved the book, believe the pope has such an authority? Our general is at *Rome*, returned *Cotton*; he cannot dispense with approving the doctrine which is commonly received there. And do you, pursued the parliament, believe what they teach at *Rome* touching these articles? No, said *Cotton*. And what, added the parliament, would you do if you were at *Rome*? We would speak as others do, returned *Cotton*. What! interrupted some counsellors, these men have two consciences, one for *Paris*, and the other for *Rome*. God protect us from such confessors.

THE parliament would not be satisfied with these answers, which tho' sincere in appearance, meant only in effect to render the doctrine of *Santarelli* probable, by leaving every one at liberty to follow or reject it, in countries which either believed it true or false. Therefore the first president, *Verdun*, required the *Ignatians* to answer precisely, and without equivocation, to the demands they made them. *Cotton* excused himself from answering instantly, and asked permission to confer with those who were with him. They were accordingly permitted to retire into a neighbouring chamber; from whence, after half an hour's deliberation they returned, and

and said, they held the same opinion with the *Sorbonne*, and that they would subscribe to the decision of the clergy upon the doctrine of *Santarelli*.

THE court finding this declaration too vague and uncertain, prepared to oblige them to sign the following articles.

FIRST, that the king held his dominions only from God and his sword. Secondly, that he acknowledged no superior in his kingdom but God alone. Thirdly, that the pope could neither put the king or his kingdom under an interdict, nor for any cause whatever absolve his subjects from their oath of fidelity to him.

COTTON, having demanded some days to deliberate with the brothers of his order upon so delicate an affair, the court granted them three, during which they caused their conduct to be narrowly observed. The first day they went to the palace of cardinal *Spada*, the pope's nuncio, and were in conference with him from two o' clock till seven in the evening; the two others they employed at the *Louvre*, where *Cotton*, seconded by *Suffren*, whom the king had just chosen for his confessor, in the place of *Seguirar*, set all sorts of intrigues to work to prevail upon his majesty to dispense with them from taking a step which would make them lose the favour of the pope; but *Lewis*, through the persuasion

sion of cardinal *Richlieu*, who wanted to mortify the *Ignatians*, with whom he was but ill satisfied, left it to the parliament to act as they pleased. Forced therefore to obey, for fear of being a second time banished from the kingdom, they made the declaration required of them, in full form, which was signed by *Cotton* and four of his fraternity, and expressed in these terms.

WE, the under-written, do declare that we disavow and detest the wicked doctrine contained in *Santerelli's* book, concerning the persons of kings, their authority and dominions. We acknowledge their majesties hold their power immediately from God, and we are ready to shed our blood and expose our lives on all occasions for the confirmation of this truth: in fine, we promise to subscribe to that censure which the clergy or the *Sorbonne* shall give against this pernicious doctrine, and never to teach any thing contrary to what the clergy, the universities of the kingdom, and the *Sorbonne*, shall declare upon this matter. Made at *Paris, March 16, 1626.*

THE parliament having seen this declaration, gave, on the 19th of *March*, the second arret we have mentioned; in which the provincial of the priests and scholars of the college of *Clermont* was enjoined to make all his company in the three houses at *Paris*,
 sign

184. THE HISTORY OF

sign a writing in which they disavowed and detested the seditious maxims in *Santarelli's* book, and to bring this act to the register's office belonging to the court; it was likewise ordered, that in two months the same acts should be brought, signed by all the provincials, rectors, and six of the oldest of each college belonging to the same company in *France*; and that if they failed when this time was expired, they should be proceeded against as criminals guilty of high treason, and disturbers of the public tranquillity.

COTTON did not long survive the uneasiness this affair gave him; he died the 19th of *March*, 1626, two days after they had signified this second arret to him. In him the order lost the principal author of its re-establishment, preservation and advancement in *France*; in a word, the most subtil, intriguing, and most zealous subject it ever had, and he was therefore extremely regretted.

His death did not stop the course of the proceedings against *Santerelli's* book. The faculty of divinity solemnly censured it on the fourth of *April*; branding it as a doctrine new, false, and erroneous, contrary to the word of God, making the pontifical dignity odious, opening a door to schism, derogating from the sovereign authority of kings which depends only upon God, hindering the

the conversion of heretic and infidel princes, destructive of public peace, tending to the ruin of kingdoms, states, and republics; turning subjects from their submission and obedience, and exciting them to revolts, seditions, and parricides of princes. At last, on the 20th of the same month, the university by a solemn decree, ordered all the *Ignatians* to conform to this censure on pain of being ignominiously banished.

THERE now remained only the affair of the college of *Tournon* to terminate. The parliament of *Toulouse*, before whom it was laid, decided it on the 29th of *August* 1626. The arret rejected the request of the rector and syndic of this college, made on *September* 28, 1624, and confirmed that which the court had given, *July* 19, 1623, in favour of the universities of *Toulouse*, *Valence*, and *Cabors*; the same arret disabled the parties to intent a process with regard to the grievances they mutually required reparation for.

SUCH were the troubles the disciples of *Ignatius* caused in *France*; let us see in what manner they established themselves in *Abyssinia*.

THE sorrow which *Ignatius* felt at the vigorous oppositions his disciples met with in *France*, was tempered a little by his joy at being two years after desired to send into *Ethiopia*, now called *Abyssinia*, three knights
of

of his order to submit this empire to the obedience of the holy see, which then was under that of the patriarch of *Alexandria*, and this was the occasion.

GRANEA, a moorish prince, general of the king of *Adel*, having entered *Abyssinia* with a powerful army, and conquered great part of this empire without finding the least resistance, *David*, emperor of *Ethiopia*, alarmed at the rapidity of his conquests, sent a *Portuguese Physician*, named *John Bermudas*, to demand succours from the catholic princes. *Bermudas* arrived at *Rome* under the pontificate of *Paul III*, who made him patriarch of *Alexandria*.

INVESTED with this dignity he went to *Lisbon*, and obtained of *John III*, king of *Portugal*, the succours he demanded. A numerous fleet commanded by *Stephen de Gama*, entered the Red-sea, and landed upon its coasts four hundred *Portuguese* under the command of *Christopher de Gama*, the brother of *Stephen*. These few regular troops saved *Abyssinia*, and put the imperial crown upon the head of *Claud*, eldest son of *David*, the former emperor.

THE young emperor but ill acknowledged so great a service, and through reasons of state paid it with the blackest ingratitude, fearing lest those who had seated him on the throne should one day pull him from thence

to place themselves there. He took the precaution to weaken them in time; he therefore dispersed them into many different provinces, and banished from his dominions the patriarch *Bermudas*, to whom he had been obliged for those succours he had received.

POPE *Julius III*, and *John III*, king of *Portugal*, being informed of what had passed in *Ethiopia*, resolved to send thither a new patriarch and two bishops. The pope was willing that these should be the *Ignatians*, because he looked upon them to be more capable than any other missionaries to establish his authority in this empire.

IGNATIUS, to whom his holiness addressed himself for the choice, named *John Nugnez*, *Andrew Oviedo*, and *Melchior Carnero*; the first was made patriarch of *Ethiopia*; the second bishop of *Hieropolis*; the third bishop of *Nice*; and at the intreaty of *Ignatius*, the pope declared them successors of the patriarch.

ALTHO' they were named under the pontificate of *Julius III*, the two first did not set out for *Abyssinia* till that of *Paul IV*, in the year 1656, and took with them ten *Ignatians*.

IN the letter which *Ignatius* wrote to the emperor of *Abyssinia*, he tells this prince, that at the intreaty of the king of *Portugal*, he had sent him twelve of his little company
which

which was called the society of Jesus. This number he had expressly chosen, to represent the society of our Lord and his apostles; that the church of *Ethiopia* had occasion for the assistance of these pastors, to receive the lawful power and the pure catholic doctrine derived from the holy see; for that the patriarch of *Alexandria* being separated from the bishop of *Rome*, could neither receive himself, nor communicate to any person the light of grace and the pastoral authority; therefore his highness ought to give thanks to heaven, that our Lord, under his reign, had sent to these strayed nations true pastors, who depended upon the sovereign pastor of the faithful, and who had received all the power they were invested with from the vicar of our Lord Jesus; that the more he discovered to them the secrets of his heart, the greater internal consolation he would draw; that the words of these missionaries sent from the holy see, especially these of the patriarch, had the apostolical authority, and that he must believe them as the whole church, of which they were the interpreters; that all the faithful being obliged to adhere to the sentiments of the church of *Rome*, obey its ordinances, and consult it if they met with any thing ambiguous or obscure; and he doubted not but his highness would publish an edict to oblige all his subjects to follow, without any

any resistance, the orders and injunctions not only of the patriarch, but those he should substitute in his place. As for the rest, the patriarch and his companions intended to pay his highness all the honours and submissions which were due to him, and would even have for him all the indulgence that piety would permit.

CLAUDE, whom the viceroy of the *Indies* had by an ambassador forewarned of their design, thought it very strange that the bishop of *Rome* and the king of *Portugal* should interest themselves so much in the affairs of his conscience, and the religion of his subjects. An *Ignatian*, named *Rodriguez*, who had accompanied the ambassador, returned to the *Indies*, and upon the informations he gave the patriarch, *Nugnez* remained at *Goa*, and *Puiedo*, bishop of *Hieropolis*, went to *Abyssinia* with *Antonio* and *Emanuel Fernandez*, *Andrew Gualdanes*, *Gonsales Cardon*, and *Francis Lobo*.

CLAUDE, who valued himself upon his knowledge in religion, entered voluntarily into arguments with them; but soon discouraged with their manner of reasoning, he would no longer waste time with disputants who would have always supposed for truth what was in question, namely, that the bishop of *Rome* was the sovereign pastor of all the faithful, the vicar of Jesus Christ, his lieu-

lieutenant on earth, the chief monarch and infallible oracle of the universal church, the center of unity, out of which communion there was neither life, grace, faith, salvation, nor pastoral authority; and who, pretending that being his legates, he ought to believe whatever they said, and blindly submit himself to them: but as this prince thought that he ought not to yield without sufficient proof, he declared to them in a resolute tone, that he would maintain the religion of his fathers in his dominions, and would never submit to an authority founded upon an airy supposition.

OVIEDO, who had expected less judgment and more docility, saw well there could be no great advantages gained in the court of a prince of this character; and not finding himself too secure, he retired into the provinces with his companions. They made some profelytes there among the ignorant people; but the war which broke out all of a sudden, prevented their making any great progress.

NUR, king of *Adel*, penetrated again into *Abyssinia*, and *Claude* being desirous to fight him, lost the battle and was killed. *Adamas*, his brother, who succeeded him, made *Oviedo* appear before him, and forbid him upon pain of death to continue preaching the *Romish* religion. *Oviedo*, replying with

with a furious zeal, that he would not obey this order, *Adamas*, who was a very passionate prince, threw himself upon him, gave him a thousand blows, turned him out of his presence, and commanded his people to conduct him and his companion *Francis Lobo*, to a desert mountain.

THEY were recalled some time after, but this calm did not last long; the persecution began again not only against the *Ignatians*, but even the *Abyssinians* themselves who had embraced the *Romish* religion.

IN 1562, the *Turks* and the *Barnagashes* united their forces against *Adamas*, and his army being defeated he was obliged to hide himself in the mountains, where he died the following year.

MEAN time, Don *Sebastian*, king of *Portugal*, despairing to reduce *Abyssinia* to the obedience of the holy see, prevailed upon the pope to recal the *Ignatians*; but *Oviedo* having been made patriarch in the room of *Nugnez*, who was dead in the *Indies*, replied, they would do better to send him some troops than to recal him; that *Melac Sequed*, who succeeded *Adamas*, was a prince without judgment and experience, and only emperor in name; that he had all the enemies of his father upon his hands, and if they would send him only five hundred *Portuguese* soldiers, he would engage to force the *Abyssinians*

finians to acknowledge the pope; but if the holy father had destined him for any other place, he was ready to obey. They therefore left him *Abyssinia*, as he wished, and he continued to demand troops till his death, which happened in the year 1577.

MELAC LEQUED died in the year 1596; he left only a natural son, very young, named *Jacob*, whom the great men of the empire at first acknowledged for their master, and afterwards deposed and banished, to put his cousin *Zadengbel* in his place; this new emperor, after having reigned a very short time, was murdered by those who had put the crown upon his head; they then recalled *Jacob* from his exile, but *Socinas*, great grandson of the emperor *Basilides*, not able to suffer a bastard to be preferred before him, took arms to maintain his right. This war lasted three years, at the end of which the two pretenders came to a decisive battle, which *Jacob* lost, with his life.

THE *Ignatians* hastened to congratulate *Socinas* upon his victory, and were the more favourably received, as this prince who called himself *Sultan Sequed*, was desirous of procuring some *Portuguese* troops to assist him in maintaining himself upon the throne. For this purpose he entered into a negociation with them, who cunningly insinuated that nothing was more easy than to obtain what

troops

troops he wished from the king of *Portugal*, provided he could resolve to renounce the errors of the church of *Alexandria* and embrace the *Romish* religion. *Segued*, who thought he had taken a good step by buying thus the friendship of the *Portuguese*, made his abjuration in the year 1622. He afterwards received with extraordinary honours the patriarch whom the pope sent him. This was an *Ignatian* named *Alphonso Mendez*, who, supported by the emperor, made *Abyssinia* a country of inquisition; his tyranny drew upon the *Ignatians* and catholics the hatred of all the *Abyssinians*, a hatred which has always increased, and which subsists to this day.

IGNATIUS, who had seen the beginning of the astonishing progress his society made all over the world, and who had but twenty subjects when he began to write his constitutions, seeing that with so small a troop it would be impossible to execute the vast projects he meditated, set every thing to work to augment it: he found this the more easy to perform, because that among the fanatics which came to *Rome* to engage the holy see to authorise their visions, he always met with some, who fearing they could not get them approved of, were happy in adopting those of others.

'TWAS upon such an occasion that he gained the famous *William Postel*, the conquest of whom flattered him more than all the others he had made.

THIS prodigy of extravagance and learning, was so much infatuated by an old mad woman, a *Venetian* nun, called mother *Jean*, that he would have had her acknowledged for a female messiah sent from God to be a most perfect model of holiness, and a new *Eve* eternally predestinated to re-establish human kind in their primitive state of immortality, which they had lost by the old *Eve* whom the serpent seduced. *Postel*, looking upon himself as the eldest son of this religious visionary, and believing he was called by an extraordinary vocation to publish the re-establishment which would be made in all things, came to *Rome* with a design to institute an order of knights of Christ, whose employment should be to declare this new doctrine to all nations of the earth; but hearing *Ignatius* spoke of, and finding his order much to his taste, he entered into it in hopes of making them apostles of his holy mother *Jean*.

IGNATIUS received him with joy, and charmed with having for his disciple a man who was regarded as an oracle of learning, he applied himself with great care during two years to form him to the blind obedience required

quired of him, in order to make the subtle wit which this learned mad-man possessed, subservient to the glory of the *Ignatian* monarchy.

BUT these two men, each extraordinary in their kind, who both laboured for the peace of the world, could not agree together. *Postel*, who boasted he had a natural reason superior to all other men, refused to submit to the supernatural lights of *Ignatius*, who, on the other side, could not suffer the obstinacy of *Postel*, and therefore banished him from his order, forbidding all his disciples to have any commerce with him.

POSTEL having failed here, set himself to dogmatise, first at *Rome*, then at *Venice*, where, believing he was in more security, he publish'd so many heterodox dreams that they accused him to the holy office as a heretic who merited to be burnt. To justify himself from the heresies of which he was accused, he voluntarily made himself a prisoner. The inquisition of *Venice*, in which all things are examined with a gentleness, wisdom and equity unknown to the inquisitions of *Portugal* and *Spain*, finding him more worthy of a mad-house than the fire, declared him a lunatic, and confined him as such:

HE continued many years in prison, but at length having had the address to set

himself free, he returned to *Paris* more extravagant than ever. He was confined there in *St. Martin's* in the fields, and died in an extreme old age, and even canonized as a saint, according to the accounts of some authors.

ABOUT the same time that this illustrious visionary left the society, *Paul III.* demanded two *Ignatians* to assist his legates in his name in the council, which, after many disputes upon the place where it should be held, was at last fixed at *Trent*. *Ignatius* chose *Laines* and *Salmeron*, two of the most able scholars in the society, and the most capable of giving an advantageous idea of the services it was able to render to the holy see. They gave such distinguishing proofs of their zeal in the defence of the favourite doctrines of *Rome*, that the legates always employed them in the most difficult affairs; in effect, when the *Spanish* prelates, supported by the *French*, would have it determined that the residence of the bishops, and episcopal institution were *jure divino*, *Laines* was chosen to oppose this decision, which would have made the bishops equal with the pope, the legates made use of him in a congregation in which he alone endeavoured to establish a contrary opinion by scripture and tradition, explained according to the *Italian* theology.

He

HE maintained with an astonishing boldness, that the pope was the sole bishop, from divine right ; that he is the absolute master of the church ; that he has received from our Saviour in the person of *St. Peter*, the power of governing it monarchically ; that he has all the authority over it which our Saviour had upon earth ; that he is infallible in the determinations about faith and manners ; that the church is subject to him even as to God himself, and is obliged firmly to believe whatever he has determined ; that bishops hold their authority only from him ; in fine, that he is superior to councils, the decrees and canons of which have not the force of laws until he has confirmed them.

THIS discourse had not the success which the legates expected ; on the contrary, it raised the indignation of the *French* and *Spanish* prelates to such a degree, that they took a firm resolution to free the episcopacy from the papal tyranny. This design extremely confounded the court of *Rome* ; the pope was alarmed at it, but gaining at length the cardinal of *Lorrain*, and by him the *French* prelates, the *Spanish* were obliged to submit and give up their enterprise.

THE joy *Ignatius* felt at seeing two of his subjects in so august an assembly, was soon interrupted by the bad news he received from *Germany* and *Spain*. The council, after hav-

ing been transferred to *Bullogn*, under pretence that contagious diseases reigned at *Trent* where it was assembled, and being afterwards broke, *Charles V.*, who expected from it the end of the troubles in *Germany* on the subject of religion, demanded it to be continued; but finding that *Paul III.*, eluded the demand, and had no inclination to grant it, he resolved to appease those troubles by his own authority. The method which seemed to him the most likely to succeed, was to draw up a formulary of faith which would not wound the conscience of any person, and which the two persons might equally accommodate to themselves until a solemn decision was made. This formulary, which was called the *Interim*, because what it prescribed was only provisional and for a time, was published in the diet that *Charles* held at *Ausburg*, after the defeat of the protestants at *Mulberg*, where *John Frederick*, duke of *Saxony*, was made prisoner.

THIS imperial rule was no less for the use of the protestants than the catholics; and both the one and the other, supposing the truth was on their side, regarded it as a monstrous assemblage of darkness and light, which their conscience would not permit them to tolerate; and altho' it was expressly forbid to write any thing against it, yet still they did not cease to refute it.

AMONG

AMONG the catholics, the person who signalised himself most upon this occasion was *Bebadilla*, whom *Ignatius* had left in *Germany* to maintain the interests of the holy see, a passionate, bold and enterprising man, and so zealous a servant of the pope that he would willingly have hanged himself to express his affection for him; not content with denouncing fire and flames against the *Interim*, he spoke of the sacred person of the emperor in such irreverent terms, that *Charles V.* thought he treated him too mildly by only turning him out of his dominions. Proud with being banished in the quarrel of the vicar of Jesus Christ, he retired to *Rome* to *Ignatius*, who did not fail to represent the merit of so brave a champion to the pope: he had, however, the policy not to admit him at first into the house of the company, and publicly disapproved of his want of respect for the imperial majesty; desirous, by this satisfaction, to appease the emperor, and hinder him from extending his resentment to the other *Ignatians* established in the empire.

THE news from *Spain* was still more disagreeable than that from *Germany*. *Melchior Cano*, a celebrated Dominican, the ornament of the university of *Salamanca*, a man as judicious as learned, who was respected as one of the greatest genius's in *Spain*, and whose merit alone raised him to the bishopric of

the *Canaries*, set up a standard against the *Ignatians*. He had seen their institutor at *Rome*, who after having very improperly discoursed to him upon the revelations with which heaven had favoured him, of the eminent holiness to which he was arrived, and the persecutions he had suffered, presented to him one of his companions whom he would have pass for a saint; but this saint, whose stupidity was visible in the wildness of his looks, being interrogated by *Cano* upon some matters of religion, through ignorance mixed so many heresies in his replies, that *Ignatius* himself was ashamed, and endeavoured to make an excuse for him. This man, said he to *Cano*, is no heretic, but his brain is disordered; he has his reason at certain intervals, and that he is so little catholic at present is owing to the new moon. Such a speech was sufficient to make *Cano* apprehend the genius of *Ignatius*, and the opinion he from thence conceived of him induced him to examine the conduct of his disciples when they appeared in *Spain*. He found they did not resemble the holy lunatic of whom *Ignatius* boasted so much, but were vain and insolent men, swelled with pride, fond of themselves, and enemies to all men of worth; that they were the slanderers, calumniators, impostors, seducers and hypocrites whom *St. Paul* predicted would appear in the last ages. Struck with

with this resemblance, he every where published that they were the fore-runners of the anti-christ, and used his utmost efforts to hinder people from following them.

IGNATIUS in vain remonstrated to him that his order had been approved by the pope; in vain did he obtain letters from *Francis Romee*, general of the Dominicans, containing a prohibition to all the religious to speak any thing against the *Ignatians*. *Cano* had no regard either to the remonstrances of *Ignatius*, or the letters of *Romee*; he replied, that they did not conform to the religion of the sovereign pontiffs and that of his general; and he continued to paint the *Ignatians* in the same colours not only in particular conversations, but also in his sermons and public lectures.

THE *Ignatians* would certainly have sunk under so terrible an adversary if they had not been happily delivered by the honour the pope conferred on him, in sending him to the council of *Trent*, in the quality of his theologian.

THE nomination which *Frederick*, king of the *Romans* made of *Claude Le Jay* to the bishoprick of *Trieste*, in *Istria*, was another subject of uneasiness to *Ignatius*. As persons may be at a loss to apprehend how a nomination so honourable to an order so new, could give any disquiet to the chief of that order,

it will not be unuseful to mention here the ideas of *Ignatius* touching ecclesiastic dignities, without condemning or blaming other religious who suffered themselves to be raised to such dignities ; he thought they were absolutely incompatible with the spirit of his order, which is a spirit of conquest ; and the reason of this incompatibility is, that these spiritual warriors could not fix in any particular place, because they ought to be ready to run wherever the hope of making new conquests called them : instead of which, prelates were obliged to watch over the flock committed to their care, and ought to reside in their dioceses and never quit them ; therefore the *Ignatians* could not accept of prelacies without renouncing their conquests.

BESIDES, the company being then composed of new profelytes, and consisting of about two hundred as well novices and scholars as coadjutors, if in these beginnings any one of them had accepted a bishoprick, the others would have thought they had a right to do the same ; and if the members were separated in this manner, what would become of the whole body, would it not be gradually dismembred ?

It is not the same with orders more ancient ; besides, their antiquity, and the multitude of persons who compose them, their functions are very different from the *Ignatians*.
This,

This, *Ignatius* did not fail to represent to the pope, when he told him his reasons for opposing the nomination of *Le Jay*, and not suffering ecclesiastic dignities to be introduced into the company. Holy father, said he, I consider all the other orders in the army of the church-militant as *gens d'armes*, who are such kind of troops as always continue in the post assigned them, who keep their ranks and face the enemies always in the same order. But for our parts, added he, we are as light horse who ought always to be ready in times of alarms and surprises, who attack or sustain according to the different occasions, and skirmish on all sides. Such warriors as we must go not only from city to city, from kingdom to kingdom, but fly from one pole to the other at the first signal of your holiness, and therefore be fixed to no part whatever.

THE pope relished these reasons, and, persuaded that the *Ignatians* would be more useful to the holy see when they had no ecclesiastic charge to employ them, he intreated *Ferdinand* to name any other person than *Le Jay* to the bishopric of *Triest*, who on his side knowing the intentions of his general, had already refused this prelacy.

IGNATIUS had another affair which gave him as much uneasiness as that which he had so happily terminated.

ISABELLA ROSELLI, his benefactress, conceived so strange a passion for him that she came express from *Spain* to *Rome* to see him, and live in a religious state under the government of the company. She inspired two *Roman* ladies with the same inclination, and obtained permission of the pope for herself and companions to make the same vows with those of the *Ignatians*.

IGNATIUS at first consented ; but it was not long before he repented of his complaisance. The direction of these three women gave him more trouble than the government of the whole company. They found him constant employment, either in resolving their questions, healing their scruples, hearing their complaints, and even appeasing their quarrels.

WEARY of so heavy a burthen, which he foresaw would be much heavier when this community of females were multiplied, he represented to the pope how much such a charge was incompatible with the military duties of the company, and earnestly intreated him to dismiss him from it.

THE holy father having well examined the thing, found in effect that the light horse and skirmishing parties of the church-militant, ought to have no other engagement than that of harrassing the enemies of the holy see ; and granted letters by which he for ever exempted
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the *Ignatians* from the government of women. *Ignatius* was not contented with these letters; he thought he could not take too many precautions to strengthen this rule; he therefore solicited the confirmation of it, and the following year obtained of the pope, that the company should not be obliged to charge itself with the direction of nuns, tho' they even obtained bulls to put themselves under the conduct of whomsoever they pleased, at least if their bulls did not expressly mention the company.

By virtue of these exemptions, *Ignatius* forbade all those of his order the government of nuns, or any other persons with the authority of ordinary confessors, or ecclesiastical superiors. He nevertheless softened this prohibition by giving them permission to assist them in their spiritual advancement, and sometimes upon particular occasions to hear their confessions.

'Tis to this prudent conduct of their first monarch, that the *Ignatians* owe the liberty they have of chusing among the nuns and devotees those who are worth the trouble of directing, and of giving up others to directors whom the pope has not exempted from those holy, but unprofitable duties.

YET all these precautions did not hinder an order of Jesuitesses rising, after the death of *Ignatius*, under the generalship of *Mutio Vitel-*

Vitelleschi. It began in *Flanders* by two *English* women, the one called *Ward*, the other *Tritby*, under the conduct of *Gerrard*, rector of the college of *Liege*. The design of these devotees was to go into *England*, and labour there to turn the protestants of that kingdom to the *Roman* catholic faith.

THEY were soon imitated in *Italy*, where certain married women and girls formed themselves into a community, and taking a particular habit, established colleges and houses for novices, created a general, visitors, rectors, and inferior officers; and without waiting for the approbation of the holy see, enacted a religious order under the name of *Jesuiteesses*.

THEY took the vows of poverty, charity, and obedience, from their superior-general, whom they qualified; and as their principal end was to go from city to city, from kingdom to kingdom, to instruct persons of their own sex, they did not restrain themselves to any law of a cloister.

ALTHO' the popes had authorised an infinite number of orders, such as, the *Benedictines*, *Dominicans*, *Cordeliers*, *Minimeesses*, *Theatins*, *Capuchins*, *Carmelites*, and even an order, whose institution was to instruct young girls, yet that of the *Jesuiteesses* could not find favour with *Urban VIII*, who totally suppressed them by a brief publish'd *Jan. 3,*

1631.

1631. This pontiff, then displeased with the *Ignatians*, perhaps thought to mortify them by abolishing an order formed upon the plan of theirs; but they took no part in this affair, and did not suffer any complaints to escape them against so severe a decree, the effects of which apparently they ought to be apprehensive might recoil upon them.

ABOUT the same time that *Isabella Roselli* came to visit *Ignatius*, he lost *Peter Le Fevre*, his beloved disciple, the first companion he gained at *Paris*, and one of those whose assistance had been of the greatest use to him in founding the *Ignatian* monarchy. The pope, who designed to send him to the council in the quality of his theologian, had summoned him from *Gandia* to give him his instructions. He set out immediately from *Gandia*, in obedience to the commands of the pope, and arrived at *Rome* amidst the greatest heats of the summer, and so fatigued with his studies in *Portugal* that he was immediately seized with a violent fever, of which he died the first day of *August*, in the year 1546.

THE services he had rendered the company, and those which it might have expected from him if it had possessed him some years more, made him extremely regretted by all the *Ignatians*, particularly those at *Rome*, who told *Ignatius*, weeping, that they despaired of ever possessing so worthy a subject again.
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'Tis true, replied he, that the loss is very great, but it is not irreparable. God revealed to me, when *Le Fevre* died, that a grandee of *Spain* should fill his place, and procure infinitely more glory and advantage to the company than he for whom we weep could have done, therefore let us moderate our affliction.

THIS grandee of *Spain* was the duke of *Gandia*, grandson to pope *Alexander VII*, who in case he survived his wife, had formed a design of renouncing the world, and entering into some religious order, there to expiate the faults of his youth.

IN effect, after the death of the dutches, which happened on the 15th of *March*, 1546, he thought of nothing but putting this pious design in execution. He leaned greatly towards the seraphic order of St. *Francis d'Assisi*; but when he would have followed the inclination which carried him to this side, he felt an uneasiness and distaste which prevented him; this distaste was still greater when he thought of entering into any other ancient order; but such was the miraculous virtue of the spiritual exercises which he performed at *Gandia* under the conduct of *Le Fevre* and *d'Araoz*, that his thoughts were immediately turned towards the company of the *Jesuites* and his soul tasted a sweetness and delight in them which drew him effectually to it, tho' it

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was then new, little, unknown, contemned, and even hated and persecuted; drawn in spite of himself by the invincible force of this sweet pleasure, which he took for an evident sign of the will of God concerning the order he ought to chuse, he at length determined for that of the *Ignatians*: he wrote word of his resolution to *Ignatius*, who approved of it with great praises, and obtained of the pope permission for him to make the vows of the profest, and to keep his dignities and estates during four years.

THE duke of *Gandia*, by virtue of this permission, without passing through the tryal of the noviciate, took the solemn vows of the company in the chapel of his own castle, in the presence of a few persons; he afterwards imposed on himself such excessive severities, that *Ignatius* fearing to lose him, ordered him to moderate his fervour.

You have, said he in a letter to him, a weak stomach and a delicate complexion; fast therefore with moderation, and take reasonable nourishment to recover your strength. I understand you chastise yourself every day till the blood comes, in honour of the scourging of the son of God. I forbid you to come to these extremities which may render you incapable of the offices of the company.

THE *Ignatian* duke having seen his eldest son and his daughters married, came to *Rome* invested

210 THE HISTORY OF

invested with all his grandeur: he intended to come thither incognito, but being solicited to make his entry with the magnificence and pomp becoming the grandson of the vicar of Jesus Christ, he consulted *Ignatius* upon this subject, who advised, by way of mortification, to make a splendid entry. *Julius III.* offered him an apartment in the sacred palace, but he chose to lodge in the house of the *Ignatians* to be more at liberty to converse with *Ignatius*. After four months stay at *Rome*, which time was chiefly spent in visits to churches, relicks, and images, he retired into the province of *Guipuscoa*, and chose the little city of *Ognate* for the place of his retreat; but before he went thither he resolved to visit the castle of *Loyola*, which is in its neighbourhood.

BEING entered into the chamber where the knight of the virgin was born, he threw himself on his knees and kissed the floor with a religious respect, and returning thanks to the divine goodness for giving this incomparable knight to the world, he earnestly prayed, since he had ranged himself under his banners, for grace to tread courageously in his steps.

HE left *Loyola*, animated with a new spirit, and arriving at the college of the company, at *Ognate*, he divested himself of his dutchy, and bestowed it on *Don Carlos* his eldest

eldest son, quitting, with the rest of his grandeur his usual habit to take that of the order he had embraced. Don *Antonio de Cardona*, his cousin *Sancho de Castile*, Don *Pedro de Ledesa*, Don *Diego de Gusman*, doctor *Gaspard Loant*, and *Bartholomew de Bustamante*, a celebrated preacher, who had been secretary to cardinal Don *Juan Tavera*, archbishop of *Toledo*, moved at so surprising a metamorphosis as that of a grandee of *Spain* into an *Ignatian*, entered into the society, and were followed by a great many persons of all conditions, who after their example embraced the same institution.

THOSE persons, illustrious either for their birth or learning, who embraced this order, *Ignatius* treated at first with great respect, calling them dukes, marquises, counts and doctors, till weary of these great titles, they beseeched him not to distinguish them from others; but when he saw them disposed to obey him blindly, he endeavoured to mortify them more; he took pleasure in abasing a man of quality and humbling a doctor, and never ceased till he had reduced the one to forget his grandeur, and the other to renounce his knowledge; and notwithstanding their greatness they were obliged to obey their superiors, tho' as ignorant as the holy lunatic of whom we have spoken. He used them in this manner that he might find no resistance

ance on their part, and be able to form them to his own taste, making the birth of the one and the knowledge of the other serve for the glory and establishment of his monarchy.

ALTHO' *Charles V*, in the year 1542, had formed the design of abdicating the empire to finish his days in a monastery, he could not help thinking it strange that the duke of *Gandia* had turned *Ignatian*. He did not disapprove of his renouncing his grandeur and quitting his dutchy to embrace a religious state; he only blamed him for the choice he had made; he thought a person of *Borgia's* birth ought to have entered into some of those famous orders whom their antiquity had rendered venerable, and not into an order so new as that of the *Ignatians*, which had not the same approbation, and was very differently spoke of; he was even desirous of engaging him to quit it to enter into that of the *Jeronimites*, or some other as celebrated; he did more: to free him from his engagements to the company certainly and honourably both together; he demanded a cardinal's hat for him from the pope, which his holiness granted the more easily as he was of himself inclined to give it to *Francis*.

IGNATIUS was no sooner informed of the emperor and pope's intentions than he resolved to hinder it from taking effect; he shut himself up three whole days to consider
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of means to retain *Borgia* in the company, in a manner more honourable for this illustrious *Ignatian* than the purple with which they desired to invest him, and upon quitting his retirement he told a person in whom he confided, that he was so convinced that God was not willing that father *Francis* should be a cardinal, that if the whole world was to kneel at his feet and beg him not to oppose his promotion, he would not grant the request. In effect, he laboured so strongly with the pope, that he prevailed upon him to offer the hat to *Francis*, with this condition, that if he refused it his holiness should not command him to accept it. Accordingly, the hat was offered, *Borgia* refused it; thus he complied with *Ignatius*, and had the glory of making a sacrifice to the company, for which he was afterwards rewarded by being elevated to the throne of the *Ignatian* monarchy.

WHILE *Ignatius* lived, he always hindered his subjects from accepting ecclesiastic dignities. *Laines*, *Borgia*, and *Mercurien* observed the same conduct; but *Claude Aquaviva*, the fifth monarch, having found the monarchy much augmented, and having less to fear than his predecessors as to weakening it by the loss of some subjects, made but slight efforts to retain in the company those whom the pope was willing to honour with the purple. Indeed he opposed the elevation of *Francis*

Francis Tolet and *Robert Bellarmine* to the cardinalate, but this was only for form, and he easily comforted himself for having done it without success.

In the circular letters, he wrote to all the provincials of the company, on the subject of the promotion of *Bellarmin*, he has these words ; Our Lord, says he, whose providence we ought to adore, and respect his commands, was willing to make his servant pass from the obscurity of a religious life to the theatre of the church, there to shine with greater lustre, and to propagate farther the light of his doctrine and piety. We have lost him, 'tis true ; but what of that ; it is too much glory for us to lose him for God from whom we have received him, and to whom we render him again ; besides, he will not forget the tenderness which the company has for him, and he will by his interest protect those who have held him up with so much care.

WHAT motives for consolation ! but these were not all ; there was one more powerful which *Aquaviva* did not mention ; and this was, that *Bellarmin* might possibly arrive at the papal crown, to which his uncle, *Marcellus II*, had worn ; in effect, he would have been raised to the pontifical dignity by the conclave of *Paul IV*, had not his writings against the independence of kings, and in fa-

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vour of the papal power, excluded him. If this had happened, we might perhaps have never seen any but *Ignatians* in *St. Peter's* chair, and the sovereign pontiffs become vassals to the *Ignatian* monarch.

Two years after *Borgia* entered into the company, the poorest house at *Rome* was reduced to an extream necessity by the death of *Paul III*, who gave regularly large alms to it, and by that of *Codac*, who took care of its temporal matters; and as a farther addition to their misfortune, the cardinals enclosed in the conclave, who thought only of caballing and forming parties to have a pope of their own faction, forgot to send them their accustomed charities. Altho' the scarcity was very great, and he had no hope of any assistance, yet *Ignatius* did not cease to receive all the novices who presented themselves.

BOBADILLA, who could not comprehend from whence he would draw provisions for so many people, in such bad times, interrogated him one day about it. *Ignatius* gave him a detail of all the alms they regularly received. All this is not sufficient for half our number, said *Bobadilla*. Where then is your faith, returned *Ignatius*; do you fear that he who so abundantly feeds the birds of the air, and who has so richly adorned the lillies

lillies of the fields, will suffer those to perish for hunger who have left all to serve him.

His confidence was not deceived, for he received, says *Ribadeneyra*, miraculous assistance. *John de la Croix*, purveyor in ordinary to the house, returning one day from *St. John de Lateran*, and passing by the *Colizee*, met a man who without saying a word to him gave him an hundred crowns in gold, and disappeared like a ghost; this incident gave great terror to poor *la Croix*, who was naturally very timorous.

ANOTHER time the same purveyor going out before day for provision, met some one who put a very heavy purse into his hand; as he did not see the person who gave him this present, he thought it was the devil, and finding himself near the church of *Minerva*, he entered it to pray that God would guard him from the snares of the evil spirit.

AT his return home he related his adventure, and gave the purse to his superior, who finding it full of pieces of gold, all new, at the first view suspected them to be false, who having them examined by a goldsmith, they were found to be of good weight and standard gold: and afterwards, *Polanque*, secretary to *Ignatius*, searching for some papers in an open chest where they kept nothing but old tattered cloaths, found there a great number of gold crowns, all newly coined.

IGNATIUS, who perhaps was not ignorant from whence these extraordinary succours came, believed, or feigned to believe, that they were supernatural, to the end that his inferiors becoming of this opinion, might trouble themselves no more at the rash enterprises he undertook.

JULIUS III, who knew the *Ignatians* himself, and who looked upon them as the most zealous defenders of the holy see, was no less favourable to them than *Paul* III, to whom he succeeded, *February* 10, 1550. He not only confirmed their order by an express bull, but also granted them such excessive privileges that the bishops murmured greatly; besides these, he gave considerable charities to the *Ignatians* at *Rome*, and commanded the general by virtue of his obedience, to come to him for supplies whenever the profest house had occasion for them.

MEAN time *Ignatius* having finished the constitutions, and willing to take away all pretence of contradicting them, submitted them to the examination of the principals, whom he found at *Rome* on occasion of the holy year.

ALTHO' he insinuated that he had written them by inspiration, and made use of the testimony of *Laines* to give credit to this opinion, yet that did not hinder him from reforming them by the advice and information

which they gave him ; nor did he desire that they should have the force of laws, till all the society assembled had approved of them ; but this did not happen till the generalship of *Laines*, who had most contributed to the perfection of this work, which he made pass for a divine inspiration ; they were authoris'd by the first general congregation of the order, and afterwards confirmed by the holy see.

IGNATIUS having put the last hand to the constitutions, assembled all the profest who had examined them, and sent them a letter written with his own hand, conceived in these terms ;

AFTER having reflected many times upon the nature of my charge, with a mind free from any internal or external trouble, I will tell you sincerely, before my Creator and my God, who is to judge me, what I believe I ought to do, for the greater glory of his divine majesty. Considering my sins, my imperfections, my weaknesses both bodily and spiritual, I have often thought that I was very far from possessing those qualities which are necessary for sustaining the heavy burden you have laid upon my shoulders, I desire then, in the name of the Lord, that you would seek for and elect some one who may acquit himself better than me of this charge ; but tho' another may not do better than me,

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I am desirous that my place be filled up, and that they may do this in the usual forms, I depose myself in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and truly and absolutely renounce the generalship, with my whole soul. I conjure the profest, and those who are pleased to deliberate on this affair, to receive my resignation ; but if there is any diversity of opinions amongst you, I intreat you by the love of our Lord Jesus Christ to recommend the affair to God, to the end that in all things I may do his holy will for his greatest glory, the good of souls, and the advancement of the society.

THIS letter occasioned as much surprise as admiration in the whole assembly ; they extolled to the skies the humility of *Ignatius*, and resolved with one consent to have during his life no other chief than him : they accordingly sent a solemn deputation to declare this resolution to him, and it was not without an infinite deal of trouble that they prevailed upon him to submit.

SOME days after he fell into a dangerous sickness, occasioned by saying two masses with too great fervour of devotion, on *Christmas-day* ; the hope of soon enjoying the glory of the blessed in heaven, filled his soul with such an excess of pleasure that he was transported out of himself. The physicians who attended him ordered him to moderate his

pious transports, and to think less of heaven; he obeyed, and his obedience restored him to health.

THIS virtue he possessed in so sovereign a degree, that he did not only recommend it to his subjects as the distinguishing character of children of the society, but he also practised it himself in blindly submitting to whatever his confessors commanded him for the health of his soul, and his physician for that of his body; we have already related some examples of his submission to the orders of the first; the following is an instance of a still more meritorious obedience to those of the last.

LABOURING one day with a violent pain in his stomach, caused by his ardour of devotion and intenseness of faith, a young physician who attended the profest house, imagining his illness proceeded from a cold, ordered him to keep himself well covered in his bed, to have the windows of his chamber shut close, and to drink wine pure and unmixed, and to abstain from every thing that was cool.

ALTHO' *Ignatius* was perswaded that this method of treating his distemper was quite wrong, and felt himself grow worse every day, yet he continued still to observe this regimen without complaining, chusing rather to die than save his life by disobedience, even
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to the orders of an ignorant man ; but those who watched by him seeing him in danger of dying, called *Alexander Petronio*, a famous physician at *Rome*, to his assistance. Bless me, cried he, as soon as he saw the patient, do they want to stifle this man ; open the windows and take away some of the coverings, and give him some fresh water to drink to quench the fire that consumes him. His attendants obeyed these new orders, and in a moment *Ignatius* found himself better. *Petronio* ordered him on *Thursday* of the holy week to eat a little chicken for his supper, but doubting his complying with a thing so contrary to the sanctity of the day, and so unusual with a man accustomed to mortify himself like *Ignatius*, he came early the next morning to be satisfied of the truth ; surprised at hearing from the mouth of the sick man that he had obeyed his order without any scruple, he could not disguise his astonishment.

I HAVE, said he, ordered several of my patients to eat meat this week, and although they did not fast during the whole lent, and were not very devout, nevertheless I could not find any so little rigid as to obey my orders this week, but you who have fasted so rigorously till *Thursday*, have made no difficulty to break your fast, tho' there remained but three more days of abstinence, I

must confess I cannot comprehend it. We ought, replied *Ignatius*, blindly to obey those who have a right to command us. God has established physicians to command the sick on his part, we ought therefore to honour them and obey their orders without any examination, otherwise obedience would not be a virtue.

It may possibly be objected to him that he embarked at *Venice* for the isle of *Cyprus*, contrary to the advice of his physicians; but the answer is very easy; this was, because he could not obey them without losing the only opportunity which offered for his getting to *Jerusalem*, and without disobeying the inspiration by which he believed he undertook this voyage.

ONE may judge of this by his submission to the orders of the pope; it was so great that he has often been heard to say, if the sovereign pontiff commanded him to embark at the port upon a ship destitute of masts, helm, ropes or sails, and not furnished with the necessaries of life, he would make no difficulty to pass the sea in such a vessel. But where then would be your prudence, said a person of distinction, before whom he talked in this manner? Prudence, sir, replied he, is the virtue of him that commands, and not of him who obeys.

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As soon as he recovered his health he resumed the reins of government, which he had been desirous of quitting, and applied himself with more ardour than ever to the affairs of the company, above all things labouring to establish it in places where they made most difficulty to receive it.

WHILE he was thus busied, a design was in agitation, which if it had succeeded, would have entirely overturned his monarchy. Some prelates of distinguished piety, thinking they would render a great service to the church by freeing it from the multiplicity of religious orders, whose institution was yet recent, formed a project of uniting the *Theatins*, the *Barnabites*, the *Ignatians*, and others, in one society; a prospect which appeared to them the more easy to execute, as these different orders proposed the same principal end; which was, the reformation of manners, the defence of the church against the attacks of its adversaries, missions, and the instruction of youth.

IGNATIUS, who saw well that such a union could not be made without a regulation incompatible with the monarchical government of his order, opposed it strongly; he represented, that for the greater glory of God it was necessary these orders should remain in their natural state; he maintained that they were more useful to the church,

each following the particular spirit of their institution, than if they were all united in one body ; in fine, he reasoned so effectually that his company was not united with the regulars.

'Twas thus that *Ignatius* laboured for the propagation and stability of his order, and applied himself with no less industry to regulate the conduct of his children ; he was willing they should be humble, but he did not intend their humility should lessen the glory of the society ; for which cause, being told that *James Mixon* and *Lewis Gonzales* had each refused to accept the office of confessor to *John III*, king of *Portugal*, because they thought an employment so splendid did not agree with their profession ; he instructed them in this manner in the true spirit of the company.

THE humility of apostolical men like you, said he to them both, is more noble than you think it ; these sort of honourable ministries are not incompatible with your vocation ; you ought neither to despise the lowest offices, nor fear the most exalted ; for after all, you are not solitaries shut up in a cloister ; you are indeed to seek for hospitals, gallies and prisons, to exercise your zeal, but you are not to fly the palaces of princes ; by your institution engaged to procure the salvation of mankind, you are to make no exceptions
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of persons, and you will render yourselves guilty if you refuse to labour for that of kings, who are more obliged to you for your cares, as they are farther removed from the kingdom of God than common men.

THIS remonstrance was so efficacious that it never after happened, that an *Ignatian* made any difficulty of directing the consciences of kings, and frequenting the palaces of princes.

As he believed his monarchy could not subsist without a blind submission on the part of his subjects, he never ceased to exalt the virtue of obedience, and to place it above the most sublime virtues. Obedience, said he to them, is the daughter of humility, the nurse of charity, the sister of justice, the mother of brotherly concord, and the enemy of self-opinion; it is a guide which never wanders, an oracle that cannot deceive, the port of salvation, and the mark which distinguishes you from all other religious orders. Thus, as much as you surpass both the old and the new ones in austerity, as much ought you to surpass them in obedience. But lest you should take the shadow for the substance, know, that there are two sorts of obedience, the one imperfect, the other perfect; the imperfect considers if what is commanded be just and reasonable, and submits but in appearance to orders which shock the

understanding: the perfect, on the contrary, is nearly blind, believes without examining that all the orders it receives is just, complies internally with the execution of them, and adds to the execution the sacrifice of its own will to that of the superior.

It was this last kind of obedience which *Ignatius* required of his subjects, and to exercise them in it he tried them by commands the most ridiculous and extravagant; he would have one, for example, be at the same time a preacher and a lawyer, a professor in philosophy and a grammarian; and at his first command the cook would quit his pots and kettles and teach divinity; and the professor of divinity descend from his pulpit to the kitchen, there to preside over sauces and fricassees.

He one day sent for a priest who was just going out of the Sacristy to the altar, to come and receive his orders in his robes; the priest immediately obeyed, and when *Ignatius* perceived him, did you not, said he, feel some repugnance to quit mass when you were so near saying it? To which the priest answered, No. I am transported with joy, said *Ignatius*, loading him with praises. I had no occasion for you, pursued he, I was only desirous of trying you, and be assured that you have more merit in this obeying without any reply, than if you had staid to say

say mass, for tho' the august sacrifice at the altar be of infinite price, nevertheless obedience is of greater.

ANOTHER time, having made a confessor, he called while he was discharging the duties of his ministry, and this confessor not coming till they were over; what, said *Ignatius* to him in a severe tone, must you be called twice, ignorant that you are; have you not been often told that inferiors must quit every thing at the least sign or tingle of a bell which comes from their superior; go, and never let this happen again.

HE did not always behave with so much clemency, for he often punished with the utmost rigor the least fault which regarded obedience: the following are some instances of his severity in this respect.

HE ordered the discipline to be given to a good priest of the company who asked permission to perform a pilgrimage; not that he thought the request was bad, but because he who made it discovered too much eagerness to have it granted.

Emerico de Bonis, a young *Ignatian*, was still more severely punished on as trifling an occasion; a woman of ill life who lived near the church of the company, had a bad custom of throwing out dirt before this church; *Ignatius* having suffered it a long time without complaining, at last commanded *Bonis* to in-

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treat this neighbour to throw her dirt in a less respectable place. *Bonis*, who feared to defile himself by speaking to this woman, charged another neighbour with the commission. *Ignatius* hearing of it, and tho' he approved the modesty of the young man, yet he imposed upon him a penance of six months, for having deviated, tho' with a good intention, from the express tenour of his obedience. He therefore ordained him to stand in the Refectory, with a little bell hanging about his neck, and every day utter with a loud voice the following sententious words ; *I will and I will not, do not dwell in this house.*

HAVING made a sign for a coadjutor-temporal to seat himself upon a stool, and this brother through respect for his general, and a nobleman who was present, excusing himself from doing it, for his punishment was forced to put the stool upon his head, and remain thus covered till the end of the visit.

HE treated his most illustrious companions with no less rigour whenever they happened to forget themselves upon this article. We have a remarkable example of this in the person of *Laines*, who a second time assisted at the council of *Trent*, which *Julius III.* had established immediately after his exaltation, according to one of the articles of the conclave.

THE council having been suspended in 1552, on account of the war in *Germany*, *Ignatius* recalled *Laines* to *Padua*, and named him provincial of *Italy* in the room of *Brouet*, whom he had sent to *France* to take care of the affairs of the society there; *Laines* refused the provinciality, and the chief cause of his refusal was, as he said, that he yet knew not how to obey well enough to be able to command; but upon declaring to him that it was the will of *Ignatius*, he submitted immediately. As soon as he had taken the government of the province upon him, he found fault with their making all the good subjects come to *Rome*; and in his letters he complained that the colleges of *Italy* were so ill provided. *Ignatius* replied to him, that the capital of the world ought to be more considered than other cities; but *Laines* repeating his complaints, I am displeased, says *Ignatius* to him in his letter, with your persisting to write to me upon the same subject, after the answer I sent you, that the common good ought to be preferred to particular; reflect upon your proceeding, added he, and afterwards send me word if it appears not to be wrong, and if you find yourself guilty, let me know what punishment you are ready to suffer to expiate your fault.

LAINES,

LAINES, to this letter made the most humble and submissive reply imaginable; he acknowledged many great faults in his conduct; First, of having been rash and vain enough to oppose with his weak understanding a man so wise and so enlightened as he: Secondly, of having given cause of displeasure to his general: Thirdly, for wishing to disturb the order of providence in withdrawing himself from ways through which God had conducted him. As for what regards the punishment I merit, said he, I wish, nay, I beg, by the bowels of our Saviour, that you would punish my sins and subdue my ill-governed passions which are the source of them. Your reverence may exclude me from the government, from the preaching, and from study, and leave me no book but my *Breviary*; let me come to *Rome*, begging alms, and there employ me till death in the lowest offices of the house, for which if I am not fit, command me to pass the rest of my days in teaching the first rudiments of Grammar, and regard me as nothing else but the filth of the world.

THIS single example is sufficient to shew how *Ignatius* made his authority be respected, and in what manner he obliged the first ministers of the monarchy to submit to their monarch.

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HE was so satisfied with the submission of *Laines*, that far from abasing him to the grammarians class, or interdicting him from study, he ordered him to compose a theological discourse, to serve as a preservative for the catholics against the protestant books, and that his charge of provincial might not hinder his labours at this work, he gave him two persons to assist him in his visits to the colleges of *Italy*; the one was *Martin Olave*, who had been rector of the *Roman* college; the other, *John Baptist Viole*, superior of the young *Ignatians* at *Paris*.

THE division in the college of *Naples* gave new business to *Ignatius*. *Oviedo*, who was rector there, made it a capital crime for any one to neglect the smallest external duties; and *Bobadilla*, who was inspector, according to what he had practised himself at the beginning of the company, finding nothing but puerility in these devout trifles, was of opinion that they ought to discharge the young *Ignatians* from the observance of them, and oblige them only to the practice of solid virtues.

BUT *Ignatius*, who had himself ordered these trifling duties, and thought them very important, disapproved of *Bobadilla*'s conduct, removed him from the office of inspector, and forbid him for the future to trouble himself with the government of *Oviedo*.

viedo, to whom he had given authority to maintain domestic discipline.

THE affairs of *Portugal* gave him other inquietudes than those of *Naples*; the college of *Coimbra* was very flourishing by the number of *Ignatians*, and by the success of its studies. Above an hundred young men of wit, and almost all of quality, whom *Rodriguez* had gained by the sweetness and nobleness of his behaviour, exercised themselves in the *Belles Lettres* and other sciences, with an incredible emulation and ardour; but some among them, too much attached to study, insensibly abandoned the beads, the rosary, mental prayer, and spiritual exercises.

THE gentle temper of *Rodriguez* was the principal cause of so great an evil, of which *Ignatius* being informed, resolved to take the charge of provincial from him, which he exercised for twelve years with applause, and even to oblige him to quit *Portugal*: however, to save the reputation of a man who had gained so much honour and advantage to the society, he thought it necessary to give him another employ, and destined him to the government of the province of *Arragon*, and for his successor to the provinceship of *Portugal*, appointed *Miron*, a firm and exact man, without any consideration for the weakness of human nature, as severe as *Rodriguez* was.

was gentle, and above all, the greatest observer of punctilious trifles in the world.

AT the first report of this designed change, the whole court exerted themselves in favour of *Rodriguez*, who was greatly esteemed; some said that the king ought to forbid him to leave the kingdom; others were of opinion that they ought to procure a brief from *Rome* to retain him; and some noblemen even pressed the king to name him to the bishoprick of *Coimbra*, which was then vacant, and oblige him to accept of it.

ON the other side, the young *Ignatians* jointly declared that they would not obey any other than him, and threatened to quit the society if he was removed.

BUT *Ignatius*, whom the greatest difficulties could never prevail upon to break a resolution he had once formed, wrote to the king, the queen, and prince of *Portugal* his reasons for recalling *Rodriguez*: he wrote at the same time to *Leon Henriquez* and *Lewis Gonzalez*, commanding them both by virtue of their holy obedience to employ all the credit they had at court in making it approve of the change he intended; he also wrote to *Rodriguez* in terms equally strong and obliging.

THESE letters produced the desired effect, especially that to *Rodriguez*, who humbly submitted to the command of his general, whom

whom he knew he could not disobey with impunity ; he even solicited his removal himself, which he had no sooner obtained than excusing himself from the provincialship of *Arragon*, he retired to the extremity of *Portugal*, there to live solitarily in a country-house belonging to the college of *Coimbra*.

MIRON spoiled all in the college of *Coimbra* by an over-strained severity ; the harshness of his government occasioned such a revolt in the minds of the *Ignatians* there, that there was neither superior or inferior that did not complain ; the murmurs were so great that *Ignatius*, who thought his presence necessary to appease them, had already resolved to go into *Portugal* ; but after many deep reflections, he contented himself with sending in the quality of visitor, *Michael Tornez*, rector of the college of *Salamanca*, a man of authority, and who possessed the art of making himself no less beloved than respected.

TORNEZ, according to his instructions, made most humble acknowledgments to the king of *Portugal*, as the first protector and most generous benefactor of the society ; after which he intreated him not to permit *Rodriguez*, whose removal seemed necessary for the peace of the college of *Coimbra*, to continue in a useless solitude, but rather to leave the kingdom and go to the govern-

government of the province of *Arragon*, of which he was provincial. The king with some difficulty consented, and *Rodriguez*, always disposed to obedience, immediately took the road to *Arragon*.

His departure was of no small use to *Tornez*, to reclaim those persons whom the presence of their former superior rendered less manageable; but that which compleated the quiet of the province was, that *Miron* altered his method of government, and following the advice he had received from *Rome*, assumed a behaviour more soft and obliging.

AFTER all things were thus re-established, they passed by degrees from one extremity to another; an imprudent fervor invaded the students of the college of *Coimbra*; they abandoned their studies to devote themselves entirely to contemplation; all wasted with austerities they appeared like persons who were near death. This second evil was more dangerous than the first, as it was a fixed fanaticism. *Ignatius*, who knew by his own experience how difficult it was to cure such a distemper, laboured with all his strength to remove it, and finding no remedy better than spiritual helebore, that is to say, obedience, he wrote a long epistle to them which turned wholly upon this admirable specific, which he commanded them to make use of. This letter, which laboured to prove that
neither

neither an active or contemplative life, neither voluntary punishments nor tears of penitence could be agreeable to God, without a blind obedience to superiors, cured the disordered minds of these fanatics, and put an end to all the troubles of *Portugal*.

MEAN time *Rodriguez*, after having obeyed the orders of *Ignatius* relating to the province of *Arragon*, made new instances to be discharged from the government of it. His excuses were at length admitted; but instead of sending him again to *Portugal*, which he passionately desired, he was summoned to *Rome*, whither he came out of pure obedience. When he arrived, he could not dissemble his uneasiness, but complained bitterly that he had been accused of raising the troubles in the province which he had peaceably governed during twelve years; he even had the courage to demand justice of the general for having given credit to these accusations.

IGNATIUS, whom such a proceeding taxed with prejudice in his judgment, dissembled the injury which *Rodriguez* did him, and making a shew of great equity, named commissaries to judge the affair, as the last resource, reserving nevertheless to himself the right of naming the punishment, in case it was necessary.

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THE judges whom *Rodriguez* was allowed to chuse, having examined the affair by the accounts which had been brought from *Portugal*, and the pleas of the accused, pronounced him guilty of two capital crimes; the one of being too little careful to establish in *Portugal* the manner of life which *Ignatius* had prescribed for all the company; the other for having had too much gentleness and indulgence in his government.

RODRIGUEZ, who was brought into the presence to hear this judgment, submitted to it with a profound humility, and casting himself at the feet of his judges, demanded to have a penance imposed upon him equal to the scandal he had given.

IGNATIUS, who sought only to remove him from *Portugal*, contented himself with forbidding him ever to return into that kingdom; but to soften a little the pain which such a prohibition must give him, he was permitted to go to the Holy Land, where his inclination, from his first studies, would have led him, and where they endeavoured to establish a college of the society. Accordingly, *Rodriguez* left *Rome*, and took the way to *Venice*; but his ill health prevented his embarking and obliged him to stay in *Italy*, till he had obtained permission to retire into *Spain*, where he passed the remainder of his days in discontent.

THE

THE troubles of *Portugal* being thus appeased, *Ignatius* wholly applied himself to the general government of the company, observing that the frequent private conversations which his companions had with the females they directed, were not very edifying, and fearing with reason such a dangerous commerce might be fatal to their chastity and give occasion to some scandalous adventure, from whence the enemies of the society might decry it, he could not be at ease till some efficacious method was taken to prevent such a misfortune. He therefore made a regulation on this head, which he published through all the order, importing, that when any priest of the company went to visit the women in their houses, either to hear their confessions, or upon any other occasion, he should take a companion with him, who should be present during the time of confession or conversation, and if the room would permit it, he should be in some part of it where he might without hearing any thing, see all that passed ; but if the place would not allow it, the chamber where the confessor and his penitent were should be very light and the door kept always open. He had the observation of this rule so much at heart that he punished very rigorously a good and virtuous old man who had not kept it : he condemned him to give himself the discipline

cipline in the midst of eight priests, till each of them had repeated one of the seven penitential psalms.

BUT the society afterwards relaxed much of this great severity : far from observing so necessary a rule, it not long ago forbid it, and even canonised a rector * of the royal college in the city of *Toulon*, who was accused of spiritual incest, and convicted by his own confession of being, in contempt of this order, locked up eight or nine times with a handsome young lady his penitent †.

A FEW days after the publication of this law we have been speaking of, *Ignatius* familiarly conversing with *Gonsalez* upon the news lately arrived from the *Indies*, and the conversation turning upon the happy progress the society made in all places, he sighed as if oppressed with grief. *Gonsalez*, who could not comprehend the occasion of this sadness, demanded the cause. These prosperities, replied *Ignatius*, give me more fear than joy : when persecutions cease in any place, I always apprehend the company has not done its duty : there is nothing we ought so little to depend upon as good fortune, and we have never more to fear than when all things happen according to our desires.

HOWEVER, the calm he apprehended continued not long ; all on a sudden a tempest

* Father Gerard.

† Mademoiselle Cadiere.

was raised against the company, the more to be dreaded as it came from the Vatican.

CHARLES V, having published an order in *Spain*, that the priests and those who possessed benefices should not absent themselves from their dioceses, or churches, the *Spanish* ecclesiastics who were at *Rome*, and whom this edict particularly regarded, complained of it to *Julius III*, as an incroachment upon the rights of the holy see, and prevailed upon his holiness to demand satisfaction of the emperor. *Charles* fiercely replied, that the order was not from him but the national council, who were resolved to make the decree of the council of *Trent* be observed, which related to those who possessed church-dignities; he added, that his holiness himself having assisted at that council in quality of legate, from *Paul III*, when these decrees were made, he would do better to enforce the observance of them than oppose them.

JULIUS, more irritated at the emperor's reply, than even at the affair itself, was so offended with the *Ignatians* of *Castile*, who were suspected of having composed it, or at least of having a great part in it, that it intirely deprived them of his favour; he would no more allow them access to the apostolical palace, and no person durst speak a word in their behalf, not even cardinal *Capri*,
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the protector of the society, whom the pope generally listened to with great complaisance.

To increase this misfortune, *Ignatius*, who without doubt would have found the secret of appeasing the holy father, fell sick at this dangerous juncture, and they apprehended he would die: but all was composed again by means of *Frederick*, king of the *Romans*, who wrote to *Julius* in favour of the *Ignatians*, and prevailed upon the pope to redouble his affection for them.

MARCELLUS II, who succeeded *Julius III*, discovered also great esteem for them; but his pontificate lasting but three weeks, they fell again into new alarms when they saw elected in his place *John Peter Caraffa*, who at his coronation took the name of *Paul IV*, and whom they believed to be their enemy, because *Ignatius* had refused to unite his order with that of the *Theatins*, of which *Caraffa* was the founder, and also for that *Ignatius* had prevailed upon *Julius III*, to cancel a sentence which *Caraffa*, when archbishop of *Naples*, had given against him, to oblige him to give up a young *Neapolitan*, whom they accused his society of having seduced from his parents. But in this they were agreeably deceived: *Paul IV*, forgot the resentments of cardinal *Caraffa*, and considering only the glory of the sovereign pontificate,

rificate, whose rights he was desirous of extending, both by spiritual and temporal arms; he loaded the *Ignatians* with favours, whom he regarded as the strongest supporters of the holy see, and they had no other trouble with him than preventing him from making *Laines* a cardinal.

It was under his pontificate that the war between the court of *Rome* and *Philip II*, king of *Spain* began; then money being very scarce, and provisions extreamly dear, *Ignatius* found great difficulty in providing for his profest house; yet he thought proper to make *Antony Labaco*, a famous architect, whose writings are still in great esteem, come to *Rome* and consult upon measures with him for building the *Roman Germanic colleges*.

LABACO having drawn the plan of these two buildings, and computed how much they would cost, *Ignatius* made them immediately begin the work, tho' he had then but very little money; but he wholly relied upon adventures like those which had happened to the good *John de la Croix*.

POLANQUE, who was charged with the affairs of the *Roman college*, soon saw it out of his power to pay the workmen; he had recourse to heaven and earth to raise money, but could neither procure it gratis or for large or small interest.

IGNATIUS being informed of this difficulty, shut himself up in his chamber to pray, and when his devotions were finished, ordered *Laines*, *Christopher Madrid*, and *Polanque* to be called into his presence. Altho' I am no prophet, nor the son of a prophet, said he, smiling, yet I can assure you, our Lord will not abandon us; then turning to *Polanque*, with a gay air, build the college, and do not trouble yourself about finding money, I will take upon myself the care of furnishing you with what you will have occasion for. When, oh, miraculous accident! cries *Ribadeneyra* who relates it, the same night two persons who were ignorant of the necessity we were in for money, sent us a sum large enough to free us from our embarrassment. Mean time *Ignatius*, who, since his last sickness, had continued always weak and languishing, and who was often obliged to keep his bed, thought it necessary to take an assistant to partake of his labours, or rather to discharge his office under him; but as he was not willing to make this choice himself, he assembled all the *Ignatians* who were at *Rome*, and acquainting them with the condition to which his infirmities had reduced him, ordered them to chuse a man capable of sustaining the weight of the government. They all with one voice named

Jerome Nadal, who possessed all the qualities necessary for this charge.

IGNATIUS approved of the choice they had made, and threw upon *Nadal* the management of affairs, reserving only to himself the care of the sick.

BUT feeling himself weaker than ordinary, and that his end approached, he made them call the companion of his secretary, and dictated a will to him, which contained nothing but some new thoughts upon obedience, a subject he meditated upon day and night. From this time he thought of nothing but preparing himself for death.

HIS regret at seeing the war so furiously kindled between *Philip II.* of *Spain*, and pope *Paul IV.*, two of the most powerful protectors of his order, contributed not a little to hasten his death. He was desirous of leaving *Rome*, where he heard nothing but the noise of arms, and retired to a house in the country which had been built the preceding year for the *Roman* college of the society, but scarce had he been there a few days when he grew much worse, and he was brought back again to the city. His physician, *Petronio*, did not think his illness dangerous, and said it was only weakness without any fever or ill accident; but in this he was deceived, for this weakness was a total decay of nature. *Ignatius*, who was the only one that

was

was not deceived, convinced that he approached his last moments, confessed himself, and received the *viaticum* the 27th of July.

THREE days after, he made his secretary *Polanque* be called in the night, and ordering his chamber to be cleared; the day of my departure approaches, said he to him, go to the pope and demand his blessing for me, and an indulgence for my sins, that I may leave this life with more joy and assurance: tell him, if I go into paradise, as I hope from the divine mercy, I will not fail to pray for his holiness, as I have always done here below even when I had care enough for myself.

POLANQUE, who had that night letters to write for *Spain*, asked him, if it would not be as well to go the next day; and *Ignatius* telling him he might do as he pleased; this answer, together with the physician's assurance that he was in no danger, induced *Polanque* to write his letters.

IGNATIUS passed the night alone, and when his attendants came early in the morning to see how he was, they found him in the last extremity. *Polanque*, who was first with him, seeing him so ill, ran immediately to the pope, who granted all he asked, with the greatest marks of sorrow for the loss the

holy see would sustain by the death of so valiant a captain.

MEAN time they presented a cordial to *Ignatius*, who told them with a dying voice, that it was no longer necessary, and turning himself towards the head of his bed, where he thought he saw our Saviour and the blessed virgin, he conversed with them, and pronouncing their names devoutly, gave up the ghost in the presence of his disciples and some friends of the society, among whom was the cardinal *Taruqui*; this was on *Wednesday*, the last day of *July*, 1556, an hour after sun-rise.

HE died at the age of sixty-five years, thirty-five of which he had made himself knight of the virgin, and six his order was approved under the august name of the society of Jesus. He died with the consolation of seeing his society spread over all the world, and divided into twelve provinces, which altogether had no less than a hundred colleges. It increased so greatly after his death, that in 1608 it had twenty-nine provinces, two vice-provinces, twenty-one profest houses, thirty-three of probation, two hundred ninety-three colleges, ninety-three residences, and 10581 *Ignatians*. In 1679, it was divided into thirty-five provinces, and two vice-provinces; it possessed twenty-three profest houses, forty-eight for novices,

novices, five hundred seventy-eight colleges, eighty-eight seminaries, one hundred residences, one hundred and six missions, and the number of its subjects amounted to 17655. In fine, in 1710, it had twenty-four profest houses, fifty-nine of probation, three hundred and forty residences, six hundred and twelve colleges, two hundred missions, one hundred fifty-seven seminaries and pensions, and 19998 *Ignatians*.

IGNATIUS was of a moderate stature, rather small than great ; his complexion was olive, his head bald, his eyes sunk in his head, but full of fire, his forehead high and his nose aquiline ; he limped a little from the wound he had received at the siege of *Pampelune*, but he took so much care to conceal this defect in walking, that it was hardly perceived.

ALTHO' the *Ignatians* loss was very great, yet they discovered no appearance of sorrow ; they concluded it better to draw some advantage from his death than amuse themselves with useless tears. We have, said they, more reason to rejoice than be afflicted at the death of our blessed institutor ; on the one side, we cannot doubt but he enjoys the glory due to his merits ; and on the other, we may be assured we shall receive more protection from him in the glorious state he is in at present, than we received while he was yet with us.

OUR confidence in these two things is drawn from proofs which leave us no room to fear being deceived. A moment after he expir'd, he appear'd at *Bologna* to a lady of quality greatly attached to the society, a great alms-giver, and continually employ'd in works of charity in the hospitals and prayers in the churches. This pious lady named *Marguerita Gigli*, sleeping tranquilly the morning, at the 31st of *July* was suddenly awaken'd by a terrible noise which shook her whole chamber. She had no sooner open'd her eyes than in the midst of bright moonlight, she saw the saint shine with brighter rays, who said to her, *Marguerita*, lo! thus I am going as you see, I recommend my children to you. So this said, he disappear'd, and *Marguerita* went immediately to relate what she had seen to father *Francis Palmis*, her confessor. Though she had never seen our blessed founder, she gave so exact a description of his features, that those who had longest conversed with him, could not have describ'd him better. Mean time, as they were ignorant at *Bologna* of the danger he was in, and even knew not that he was sick; the fathers of the society, to whom the confessor related this admirable vision of his penitent, suspected it for a falsehood. But a few days after, news of the saint's death arrives; and the precise moment

ment in which he expired agreed so well with that of his apparition, that the fathers no longer doubted, but lady *Gigli* had seen St. *Ignace*, and that he was in the glory of the blessed.

THIS vision, and some others like it, which the *Ignatians* took care to publish, prejudiced all *Rome* so much in favour of the sanctity of *Ignatius*, that in every part of the city one might hear them say, the saint is dead.

WHILE the corpse was exposed to view, the people, possessed with this opinion, ran in crouds to see it; some kissed his hands and feet; others laid their beads and rosaries upon the body, believing they acquired a miraculous virtue by this touch; and several persons endeavoured to possess themselves of some pieces of his cloaths, to make them the objects of their adoration, but the *Ignatians* would never permit it.

THEY interred him in the church of the profest house, and *Benedict Palmio* pronounced the funeral oration: the corpse continued in the place of its sepulture till the year 1568, when they took it from thence to lay the foundations of the church which cardinal *Alexander Farnese* built for the society. This magnificent church being finished in the year 1587, *Claude Aquaviva*, then general of the order, transferred

250 The HISTORY of

the body of *Ignatius* thither, on the 19th of *November*, and placed it on the right side of the altar, with this short inscription upon marble.

To Ignatius, founder of the order of Jesus.

BUT afterwards, the society thinking this short epitaph too simple for so sublime a hero, made the following one for him.

Whoever thou art that representest to thyself the image of the great Cæsar, Pompey, or Alexander, open thy eyes to the truth, and thou shalt see upon this marble that Ignatius has been greater than all these conquerors.

WHILE they waited for the order of the holy see, the *Ignatians* appointed a particular worship for their patriarch. They assembled themselves every year on the day he died, at his tomb, when one of them made a panegyric on the saint. In the year 1599, cardinal *Bellarmin* requested he might be permitted to make the discourse.

THO' the ceremony was performed by the *Ignatians* only, nevertheless cardinal *Baronius* desired to assist at it, that he might honour the memory of a man whose shining coun-

countenance his spiritual father *Philip de Neri*, had often beheld, and from whom he had learnt to make mental prayer. *Bellarmin* employed all his eloquence to prove that the person whose eulogium he was making, deserved to be put in the number of the saints, and to have one of the first ranks among them. *Baronius* enlarged upon *Bellarmin*'s discourse, and reproached the *Ignatians* for not having yet placed the picture of their founder upon his sepulchre; then causing it to be brought, he placed it there himself, and kneeling with a profound humility at the same moment, all the society prostrated themselves before it, weeping with devotion and joy.

THE disciples of *Ignatius* seeing their father honoured as a saint by these two learned cardinals, laboured to make him revered by a public worship: for this purpose they every where sought for witnesses of his sanctity, and having found sufficient, they reduced them into the form of a juridical information. This writing contained the most remarkable virtues which were in his person, his communications with God, and his principal maxims. I will only say one word upon each of these articles, that the reader may not be fatigued, and begin with the first.

IN this verbal process it is said, that he had the gift of prayer in so high a degree of perfection, that he was quite ravished in spirit, and deprived of the use of his senses when he was at his devotions.

HE burned with a love so ardent towards God, that flames came out of his head, and *Nicolas Launoi*, one of his companions, saw him one day all on fire.

HIS charity towards his neighbour went so far, that he found no sins which he did not excuse either on account of the weakness of human nature, the emotions of passion, or for the good intention ; and when the fact was so enormous and so evident that he could in no manner excuse it, he left it to the judgment of God.

He had such humble thoughts of himself that he desired they might not give him christian burial, being, said he, nothing but vile dust and ashes.

HIS humility did not abandon him even in his extasies ; and once, when he was lifted up from the earth in the midst of a celestial light, he was heard to cry out in the air, Oh, God, thou art infinitely good, since thou endurest a miserable sinner like me ! He seldom spake of his visions ; and when he did mention them, it was out of a holy policy, to confirm the faith of his companions, and that only at the rise of his company ;
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for when it was well founded, he talked of nothing else but the virtue of blind obedience.

HE regarded persecution as one of the greatest blessings the divine bounty could bestow; and he was so much favoured by heaven in this respect, that his companions, when alone, lived in a perfect calm; but as he joined them, tempests were raised on all sides against them.

HE was so disengaged from the world, that he renounced all natural duties, not concerning himself even in what related to his nearest relations. An instance of his extreme insensibility in this respect was, that one day, in the winter time, being at prayers, and the porter bringing him letters from *Loyola*, which were said to be of consequence, he took the packet and flung it into the fire without opening it.

BUT his virtues, tho' of a peculiar kind, were nothing in comparison of the divine illuminations he had, which we find in a memoir written by his own hand, and which escaped the flames when he had burnt papers of the same nature. They contain such a series of enthusiastic visions that I forbear mentioning them, lest I should disgust my readers, who are not accustomed to such high language. To go on: he used to say, that one should not accommodate things to one's self,

self, but one must accommodate one's self to things: that whoever would perform great things for God, ought to take care of being too wise; a maxim he always exactly observed.

THAT extasies, visions, revelations and raptures ought not to be desired, but that one ought to fly from them, and even suspect them for illusions; tho' this maxim might as well be applied to his own visions as to others, and make them equally suspected of deceit and illusion; yet it did not hinder him from establishing it, as it appeared absolutely necessary to prevent his children from raising themselves like him by illuminations, and making use of the same method for their destruction as he did for their edification.

THAT for the saving of souls it was necessary to use the same device which the devil makes use of to destroy them; that is to say, that as this enemy of human kind studies the disposition of those whom he desires to gain, and afterwards tempts them by objects most proper to cherish it, offering riches to the covetous, grandeur to the ambitious, pleasure to the voluptuous, and things which have an appearance of devotion to the religious, not forcing himself abruptly into the soul, but gliding imperceptibly, and making himself master of it by degrees; in the same manner

manner every person who would labour usefully for the salvation of men, ought to apply himself to their favourite inclinations; Dissemble with them at the beginning; pass over many things as if he had not observed them, and having by this method acquired their good opinion and confidence, make use of their own arms to combat with them, and submit them to God. It was in this manner that *Ignatius* himself acted; he never began among men of the world with pious discourses, which might have frightened them, but by flattering their predominant passion. He talked to merchants of commerce and gain; to soldiers, of battles and victories; and of intrigues and negotiations to statesmen: and when by these complaisant methods he had insinuated himself into their favour and knew their will, he made them in their turn do his; which was what he called, Going in at their door and coming out at his own; and this way of gaining souls was, he said, his own institution. He recommended frequent communion as a powerful preservative from mortal sins, and said, that abstaining from the holy table, when he felt not his usual fervour of devotion, he could not eat bread or any thing that had meal in it.

HERE is a small specimen of the virtues, communications with God, and principal maxims.

maxims, which were gathered, and an extract of them presented to the pope; to which they added, a relation of the wonderful victories *Ignatius* had gained over the devils, and among others, the conquest of the demon who had possessed *Matthew*, a young *Biscayan*, who was a valet in the house of the *Ignatians*.

SATAN, say they, entered into him, while *Ignatius* was absent, at the time that he was gone to the convent of St. *Peter* in *Montorio*, to consult a religious of the order of St. *Francis* about his being elected general of the society. The devil having entered into the body of the young *Biscayan*, tormented him horribly day and night, sometimes raising him up into the air, and at other times rendering him so heavy that ten men could with difficulty lift him. After having vainly made use of the sign of the cross and the holy water, so formidable to demons, they told him which possessed *Matthew* that *Ignatius* was coming, and would quickly drive him from the body of this poor valet: at these words the evil spirit cast forth the most terrible cries, and said, by the mouth of the *Biscayan*, Do not speak to me of *Ignatius*, he is the greatest enemy I have in the world, I abhor and detest him.

IGNATIUS being returned to the house, took *Matthew* aside and spoke to him,

him without suffering any one to be present. What he said and did never came to the knowledge of *Rabedeneyra*, we must therefore content ourselves with saying after him, that *Matthew* was deliver'd from the devil which posselt him.

FROM this time, says another historian, *Ignatius* was so formidable to the powers of hell, that at the sight of his images, the possess'd wou'd cry out in the midst of exorcisms, Oh *Lucifer* where is thy power; since a little bit of paper with the figure of a priest makes us fly without daring to resist. How canst thou, O God, deprive us of glory to give it to a little lame priest.

ONE of these letters had, say they, the same effect upon a crowd of importunate foolish spirits, who having no respect for the neighbourhood of the holy house of the virgin, disturbed the repose of the *Ignatians* at the college of *Loretto*. These hobgoblins came every night and made a horrible noise in the chambers of this college; they overturn'd the furniture and drew the cloaths off the beds; and shook the house with peals of laughter that were quite unsupportable; they endeavoured to banish them by exorcisms, but they continued firm in spite of the most powerful means; at last they sent word to *Ignatius* of all this disorder, who answer'd, that he had no power
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258 THE HISTORY OF

over these devils, because they were not capable to do mischief without permission from God. As soon as his letter was read, the spirits took flight, and the college was deliver'd from them for ever.

BUT what is still more to be admir'd, is, that its most profane verses in his mouth had the virtue to make demons tremble, and to force those evil creatures to demand pardon and mercy from him; of which the following is a curious example, which they had from *Francis Sarnian*, a celebrated *Spanish Ignatian*. It happen'd one day at *Rome*, that a woman follow'd *Ignatius*, and implor'd his help, crying with a loud voice in the street, you are the only person who can deliver me from the devil, by which I am possess'd. *Ignatius* mov'd with the lamentable cries of this woman, without losing time in sending for a ritual, a cross and the blessed water, repeating these verses from *Virgil*,

Speluncam Dido & Trojanus eandem.

which the illustrious *Segrais* has render'd into *French*, by these two,

*Dans un Antre écarté la Reine de Carthage,
Seule avec son Amant se sauve de l'orage.*

He had no sooner pronounced these verses, than the evil spirit left the body of the woman

man posselt; when, addressing himself to *Ignatius*, he said, force me not, O son of *Loyola*, I conjure thee to go back into the bottomless pit. To which *Ignatius* reply'd, go where thou hast a mind, on condition thou trouble not any body again. The devil dissatisfy'd with these conditions vented his rage in horrible bellowings, and in an instant plunged himself into the infernal gulph, notwithstanding he knew he should meet with a very ill reception from *Belzebub*.

It was in the popedom of *Paul V*, who could not procure the *Ignatians* to be included in his treaty, with the republic of *Venice*, from whence they had been interdicted for ever, that *Ignatius* was beatified. Glad to find an opportunity of mitigating a disgrace they had drawn upon themselves for his sake, he listned favourably to the very humble petition offered by his well beloved son, *Claudius Aquaviva*, general of the society, and all the religious of that order to beatify their founder. His holiness granted them accordingly their request, by a bull dispatched the 3d of *December* 1609; he authorised them for ever to give to the name of *Ignatius de Loyola* the addition of *blessed*, to say mass to his honour in all their churches, and to read his office, as that of a confessor not of the pontifical order, the last day

day of *July*, being the anniversary of his happy decease.

THE feast of his beatification was solemnized with a pompous show, panegyrics were not forgot; nor did they neglect to chuse such preachers as might raise the estimation of the newly beatified person. Amongst those employed in making his *Eulogium*, there were none who better acquitted themselves of their charge than *Peter Valderama*, an *Augustin*, and *Peter Dera* and *James Rebullera*, *Dominicans*, who preached on the day of this feast, the first at *Seville*, the second at *Valentia*, and the third at *Barcelona*, and published their sermons.

FRANCIS SOLIER, an *Ignatian* of *Limoges*, charmed with these three *Spanish* sermons, which he noted as very excellent, translated them into *French*; imagining, that the people would not be less enchanted with them in *France* than they had been in *Spain*, and that seeing his glorious patriarch exalted as the greatest saint in paradise by the *Thomists*, they would not make any difficulty to believe them. But the contrary fell out of what the good *Limosin* had flattered himself. The *French*, friends to natural eloquence, did not relish the tumid style of the *Spanish* orators; whose sermons were all strewed with frivolous points, nor less abounding with cold allusions, forced allegories, extravagant

vagant hyperbola's, childish puns, and flat comparisons. They were yet more dissatisfied with the matter than with the manner of communicating it. Some persons as respectable for their learning as for their real piety, carried to *John Fillesac*, a priest of *St. Jean en greve*, the translation of the three very excellent sermons that *Solier* had got printed at *Poitiers* in 1611. They annexed to it four propositions which were faithfully extracted, and desired to know of the divine if he thought it right that the reverend father *Peter Matthew le Heart*, cordelier and doctor of the *Sorbonne*, should give his approbation to like pieces. The two first propositions were taken from the sermon of *Valderama*, the third, from that of *Dera*, and the fourth, from *Rebullera*.

FILLESAC carried the affair before the assembly which met at the *Sorbonne*, on the first of *October*; he demanded to know what the faculty judged of the four propositions laid before them, and at which a great number of catholics had taken offence.

THE first alledged, That *Ignatius* with his name written on paper, had performed more miracles than *Moses*, and as many as the apostles.

THE second, That the life of *Ignatius* was so holy and divine even in the sight of heaven, that there were none but popes, as *St. Peter*; Empresses,

Empresses, as the virgin *Mary*; sovereign monarchs, as God the father and his holy son, who had the honour to see him.

THE third, That indeed the founders of the religious orders had been sent in favour of the church, but that in these later times God had spoken by his son *Ignatius*, whom he had made the heir of all things, and to whom alone belonged that praise, and for whom he has also made the ages.

THE fourth, That the martyr *Ignatius* bore a very singular affection to the holy father and pope of *Rome*, as to the legitimate successor of *Jesus Christ*, and his vicar on earth.

ANDREW DU VAL, a celebrated doctor of the *Sorbonne*, and wholly devoted to the *Ignatians*, would willingly have opposed the censure of these propositions, pretending that they might be interpreted in a favourable and in a catholic sense, but they paid no regard to his opposition; they condemned the three first as scandalous, erroneous, blasphemous, impious, execrable, detestable, false, and manifestly heretical. They made a greater reservation as to the fourth, because it concerned the pope, with whom they were desirous to keep terms; they resolved, that, it affirmed two contradictory things, the one, that the pope is the legitimate successor of *Jesus Christ*; the other, that he is his vicar
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on earth. They censured the first as containing a manner of speaking extremely heretical; and they approved the second, as being catholic.

SOLIER did not rest long without making an answer; he undertook to refute the censure by a letter of justification dated, the ninth of *October*, 1611, and to avoid speaking of the authority of the pope, a nice matter for an *Ignatian* to treat of in *France* at that time he pretended to have not yet seen the condemnation; but to know only what a friend had informed him of it. This gave him an opportunity to suppress the fourth proposition censured, which related to the pope, and to substitute instead of it another quite different, which concerned only the *Franciscans*; it was taken from the sermon of *Dera*, and expressed in these terms. A lay brother of the order of *St. Francis*, performed more miracles with the cord that served him for a belt, than were ever done by *Moses's* rod; because, that the first only drew water from a rock, whereas the other drew from hearts even harder than rocks, bread, wine, victuals, and all the other necessities of life. There were no efforts that the *Limosin Ignatian* did not make to excuse the condemned propositions; he justified them in two manners, first in saying, that they were such thoughts

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as a preacher advances rather to engage the ear than to convey positive information; and that exaggerations of this sort ought not to be taken literally. Secondly, he insists, that there is in the scriptures, in the fathers, and in the offices of the church, modes of expression intirely parallel, or even more absurd, if one should consider them only according to the sense of the letter, and he produces accordingly divers instances. After having thus refuted the censure, he endeavours to disparage the censurers, and breaks out into invectives against the *Sorbonne*, even to the accusing it of combining with the protestants. *It abuses the Jesuits*, said he, *while at Charenton they pray for the Sorbonists.*

THE censure did not prevent the *Ignatians* from pursuing the canonization of their patriarch; impatient to see him invoked every where and to have altars erected to him, they laboured to procure him this honour with zeal so ardent, that the necessary forms which might have lasted two ages, were gone through in the space of three years.

THERE were nevertheless great difficulties to be surmounted. *Ignatius* had, indeed, done holy extravagances enough to intitle him to be canonized, if actions alone were sufficient for that. But as from the year 1232, *Rome* no longer canonized the beatified without

out their saintship was certified by miracles, it was indispensably necessary to produce some to attest his, and here lay the difficulty. For in the two first editions of his life, of which one was published in the year 1572, sixteen years after his death, by order of *Francis Borgia*, then general of the society; the other in 1587, by order of general *Aquaviva*, and very much enlarged by *Ribadeneyra*, the author, it was confessed not only that *Ignatius* had not the gift of miracles, but even took upon himself to prove, that without having that gift, he was nevertheless a great saint; adding, that if they insist on miracles, the surprizing establishment of the society furnished one of the most shining.

THIS confession had still greater force as it came from an antient *Ignatian*, receiv'd into the society so early as the year 1540, before even that it was confirmed by the holy see, from an inseparable companion of *Ignatius*; from an eye-witness of almost all his actions; from one closely connected with his most intimate confidants, and particularly with *Polanque* his secretary; from a man, in short, who had collected with the greatest care every thing that could contribute to advance the glory of the hero whose history he wrote, and who, during the fifteen years which had elapsed betwixt the edition of 1572, and that of 1587, had learnt nothing which had

been capable of making him change his sentiments. Such was the knot of the difficulty, let us see how they untied it, or rather how they cut it asunder. They prevailed upon the too sincere *Ribadeneyra*, to contradict himself in another work which was printed in the year 1612. In this new work, which he entitled the life of *Ignatius de Loyola* reduced and abridg'd, he inserted a great number of miracles, excusing himself for not taking any notice of them in the life he had published in the year 1572; because, says he, they did not seem to me to be either certain enough, or sufficiently attested.

ALTHOUGH this excuse was of very little weight, because he had not only neglected to relate these miracles, but had confess'd that his founder never perform'd any yet at *Rome*, the *Ignatians* had credit enough to make it be receiv'd.

THE difficulty thus removed, miracles were sought for in all parts of the world; *Japan*, *China*, *Mexico*, *Peru*, the *East* and *West Indies*, *Brasil*, *Abyssinia*, *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Hungary*, and *Flanders*, furnish'd them with five hundred times more than they had occasion for. They produced above two hundred, which I shall leave in the acts of his canonization in *Ribadeneyra*, *Lucas*, *Banteli*, *Boubours*, *Nelarci*, and other historians; where, without doubt, they are

are better placed than they would be here ; and shall content my self with relating only three or four, which seem to me most worthy the admiration of my readers : and these are they.

A dispute having risen among the relations of *Ignatius* concerning the name that was to be given him at his baptism, the greater number being desirous of calling him *Bertram*, the infant himself put an end to the contest, by pronouncing with a clear and articulate voice, *Ignatius* is my name. A mysterious name, which according to *Matthias Zanner*, signified, that this child should one day bring fire on the whole Earth.*

LEONARD KESSEL, a priest of the society, having an earnest desire to see *Ignatius*, of whom such extraordinary things were published, wrote to him for an express permission to come on foot to *Rome* to satisfy so holy a curiosity. *Ignatius* in answer told him, that he found him too necessary at *Cologne* to permit him to leave it, and therefore commanded him to stay ; but being willing to comfort him, he gave him hopes, that God would content him by other means than the taking so long and painful a

* The mystery of this name consists in this, that in the latin word *Ignatius* is found the word *ignis*, fire; this is from the celebrated *Rebulloza*, who gives us the authority of *St. Bernard*, for this explication.

journey. This reply was a riddle to *Kessel*, till the day that *Ignatius* explain'd it; without quitting *Rome*, he came to *Cologne*, *Kessel* saw him there, contemplated him at his leisure, spoke to him and conversed with him a long while.

THIS was not the only time that he had been seen in different places, and at a great distance from each other at once; being at *Rome*, he appeared in the *Indies*, clad in black at the side of *Xavier*, and assisted him to put a powerful army of *Malabar Moors* to flight, who were ready to cut in pieces a small troop of christians.

BARTHOLOMEW BRANDI, a celebrated preacher at *Rome*, who had been an *Ignatian*, having lost the sight of one of his eyes a little time after he left the society, was desirous of trying the virtue of a prescription of *Ignatius*, with which a temporal coadjutor boasted of having perform'd a great number of wonderful cures; he accordingly applied it to the diseased eye, praying devoutly to *Ignatius* to restore its sight; but as soon as he removed the prescription he found himself quite blind. *Ignatius*, says *Vigilio Nolarci*, having like a severe charitable father shut the eyes of his body to open those of his soul.

AT the same time that *Ignatius* learn'd his grammar at *Barcelona*, there were in that

that city two brothers named *Lisan*, who pleaded against each other in a considerable cause; the one that was vanquish'd conceived so much affliction at his misfortune, that he hang'd himself up to a beam in his chamber; the cries of his domestics when they beheld their master hanging, drew all the neighbours to the house. *Ignatius*, who was returning from the monastery of the angels, enter'd with the croud, and cutting the cord himself to which the miserable wretch was hanging, they found him without motion or pulse; and notwithstanding all their endeavours to restore the natural heat, he gave no sign of life.

IGNATIUS touched with compassion for the dreadful condition in which the soul of this unhappy man was, who died in despair, and was consequently damned, threw himself on his knees before the corpse, and requested exactly so much returning life as was necessary for him to confess himself; his prayer was granted. Hell relinquish'd its prey, and the soul of *Lisan* entered his body in the sight of the spectators who were astonish'd at the prodigy. *Lisan* confess'd himself, and immediately after died, and the devils foaming with rage saw his soul take the road to paradise.

When that was very much beloved by its mistress, being pursued by a child who took
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a pleasure in frightening it, fell into a well; from whence it was drawn out dead and putrified; the child at this sight burst into terrible cries, which the fear of being punished by his mother made him redouble; the children in the neighbourhood alarm'd by these cries ran to the assistance of their little companion, whom they found all in tears, and having learn'd the cause of his affliction, all began to say aloud holy *Ignatius* restore life to the hen; scarce had they finish'd these words, when the hen return'd to life; but to a life very different from that which it led before its resurrection. For from this time it lived like a true nun, in a state of retirement; avoided all other poultry, and particularly cocks. The city of *Manreze*, where this wonderful miracle was performed, celebrated the memory of it every year with a procession accompanied with music. These miracles and more than two hundred others that I have pass'd over in silence, induced *Paul V.* to urge the canonization of *Ignatius*; he labour'd at it with the utmost diligence, but he died before he had finish'd this great work.

AFTER the death of this pontiff, which happen'd in the year 1621, the emperor *Ferdinand*, *Lewis XIII.* king of *France*, *Maximilian*, duke of *Bavaria*, and several other catholic princes and princesses earnestly

nestly solicited his successor to put the last hand to it.

GREGORY XV, cou'd not resist such powerful solicitations, he canonized at last the blessed *Ignatius de Loyola*, with all the accustomed ceremonies, and to compleat the favour, he the same day, viz. the 12th of *March*, 1622, canonized *Francis Xavier*, who had been beatified the 25th of *October* 1619.

It was not only at *Rome* that fire-works were play'd off, together with the discharge of cannon; but during three days after this double canonization, the *Ignatians* made the same rejoycings in all other places where they were settled; they signalis'd themselves particularly in *France*, where *Ignatius* had gained his first disciples. From the 24th till the 30th, and 31st of *July*, they continued making processions, the images of *Ignatius* and *Xavier* were carried about in triumph, to the sound of trumpets which interrupted the musicians, who sung hymns in honour of the *Cæsar* and *Alexander* of spiritual knight-errantry. The churches were adorn'd with the utmost magnificence, rich ornaments, tapestry, pictures of great price, illuminations; in fine nothing that could form a grand and beautiful shew was omitted. The conquests of the order were written upon *Cartouche*, where might be read in large letters of gold, that the society

ciety of Jesus in such and such years had planted the catholic faith in the *Indies*, *Japan*, *Brasil*, *Ethiopia*, in the kingdom of *Monomotapa*, in *Mexico*, *Guinea*, *Peru*, in the empire of the *Mogul*, in *Cbina*, &c. The courts of their colleges were not less magnificently adorned than their churches; there might be seen triumphal arches, statues, pyramids, cover'd from the top to the bottom with enigma's, emblems and anagrams, the sense of which their scholars endeavoured to discover, and which always turn'd upon the virtues and wonderful actions of *Ignatius* and *Xavier*. Tragedies and pastorals were also perform'd in honour of these two saints; and their diversions ended with the playing off some machines, from whence issued millions of fiery lances, serpents and dazzling stars that made the night as glorious as the day.

GREGORY XV, dying the 18th of *July*, 1622, before the bull for the canonization of the patriarch of the *Ignatians* was drawn up, *Urban VIII*, next successor of this pope, publish'd it the year following. *Ignatius* was afterwards put into the *Roman* martyrology, and the 31st of *July* was assign'd him; the *Ignatians* a little time after put him in the place of *St. Germain*, bishop of *Auxerre*, whom they effaced from the calendar; and we should have no
more

more seen the name of this illustrious prelate so revered in all *France* there, if the parliament of *Paris*, justly enraged at this detestable proceeding, had not ordered it to be restored by an arret given upon the arguments of their advocate-general.

F I N I S.



Don IGNATIUS.

more than the name of this illustrious dis-
tinction of Rome, justly engaged in this
detractible proceeding, had not ordered it
to be referred by an order given upon the
arguments of the General.

F A W I S.



